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ABSTRACT

The intention of the initial portion of the discussion is to show how residential displacement can affect the school child and why cooperative agency response is necessary. The major objectives of the research are twofold: 1) to determine the extent and nature of cooperation between elementary schools and relocation agencies in responding to the mobile child; and 2) to uncover the reasons for organization cooperation, or its absence--in terms of the particular traits of each organizational type. Organizational literature is used as a basis for conceptualizing the research design. Information used in the study was obtained through field interviews with the personnel of twelve schools and ten agencies providing relocation services in four cities: Detroit, Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee. Direct cooperative response to the mobile child by these two agencies was found to be virtually nil. However, certain relationships did occur between them. Organizational Properties of the public elementary school seemed to severely restrict any chances for the development of serious relations with the relocation agency. Findings suggest that public policy makers should give more serious thought to how human services can be planned and integrated so that they are fully responsive to the complex needs of the individual. (Author/JLB)

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INNER-CITY PUPIL MOBILITY: THE COOPERATIVE RESPONSE OF THE RELOCATION AGENCY AND THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Philip J. Mummert
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Madison, Wisconsin 53706

March 1972

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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PREFACE

Most of our local public and private institutions have been set up to serve single functions. For a long time, these single-purpose management strategies have been attractive to agencies because of their simplicity and intuitive appeal.

But more and more, the interrelatedness of the environment serviced by agencies is consciously recognized. At all levels, governments are beginning to recognize that it is less efficient to meet the diverse but closely knit needs of the population with numerous specialized but disjointed efforts. The continued degradation of environmental quality and human life in metropolitan areas testifies to the inadequacy of this approach to urban problems.

If governments have been slow to recognize the problem, they have been even slower to develop solutions. Answers seem to lie in the application of more complex strategies which attempt to integrate the efforts of a multiplicity of agencies so that they more effectively serve objectives broader than merely their own. This author believes that a more satisfactory solution will, in part, depend upon our gaining a better understanding not only of the characteristics of single agencies, but also of the interrelatedness of separately administered programs, the nature and extent of cooperation among agencies, and the consequences of cooperative efforts. Most important, we must know the reasons for agency behavior and how, if need be, it can and should be changed.

This study represents a rather intensive look at the relationship between the public elementary school and relocation agency. Their single-purpose efforts exist side by side in the central cities of large metropolitan areas. The effect of the relocation agency's program on that of the schools and school children, as well as how the two institutions cooperatively adjust to this effect, is the primary focus of the study.

Many agencies and individuals played a part in the fulfillment of this research. The study was conducted under a grant from the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory provided much help in the development and application of the interview questionnaires. Too numerous to mention are the relocation agency and school officials and staff, as well as the mothers who contributed their time and interest. Vernon Haubrich and Joan I. Roberts of the Department of Educational Policy Studies, and Thomas Logan of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin, provided substantive criticism of the study. I owe special thanks to David C. Ranney, my major advisor, whose distinctive guidance and continuous support and interest were a strong influence during the course of this study. Special thanks are also due to Portia M. Mummert for her editorial comments on the first draft, as well as general criticism and encouragement throughout the study.

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SUMMARY

The multiplicity of organizations which perform major social and economic functions is a familiar component of the inner-city neighborhood. The program activities of these organizations are frequently administered independently of one another and directed toward particular needs. Frequently, it is the welfare of the family and children which suffers when single-purpose organizations are unable to respond to needs more complex than those they were designed to handle.

Two organizations having a direct impact on individual lives are the public elementary school and the relocation agency. The school is concerned with educating children. The relocation agency is concerned with assisting families who must move, in most cases to make way for public improvements. This exploratory study focuses on schools and relocation agencies operating within inner-city neighborhoods where pupil transiency is high and where the quality of public education is relatively deficient.

The intention of the initial portion of the discussion is to show, in light of the conditions surrounding the school child, how residential displacement can affect him and why cooperative agency response is necessary. It is important to know whether the school and relocation agency respond cooperatively to the child who is affected by family displacement and must transfer schools and adapt to changes brought about by transition. The reasons they respond or fail to respond are also useful information to the public policy maker and urban planner concerned with a community's social development.

The major objectives of this research are twofold: (1) to determine the extent and nature of cooperation between elementary schools and relocation agencies in responding to the mobile child, and (2) to uncover the reasons for organizational cooperation--or its absence--in terms of the particular traits of each organizational type. The study assumes that any cooperation which exists depends on each organization's vertical dependence on higher organizations, interpreted function, consensus regarding the other organization's domain, staff composition, decision-making structure, and operational formality.

Organizational literature is used as a basis for conceptualizing the research design. Information used in the study was obtained through field interviews with the personnel of twelve schools and ten agencies providing relocation services in four cities: Detroit, Michigan; Cleveland, Ohio; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. An interpretive analysis was used to translate the information gathered into findings.

Direct cooperative response to the mobile child by the relocation agency and public school was found to be virtually nil. However, relationships did occur between the two organizations; they took the form of personnel acquaintance, advisory committee meetings, referrals, interagency staffing sessions, and exchange of facilities. The existing interaction seemed to be primarily associated with the relocation agency: the interpretation of its function, the professional make-up of its staff, and the structure of its internal decision making. Organizational properties of the public elementary school seemed to severely restrict any chances for the development of serious relations with the relocation

agency. The findings of the study suggest that public policy makers should give more serious thought to how human services can be planned and integrated so that they are fully responsive to the complex needs of the individual.

INTRODUCTION

Specialized Public Institutions: Their Impact

Public institutions in our society are organized to serve relatively specialized functions. This system has seemed to be the most logical and efficient way of doing things. Thus, the city sanitation department is responsible for waste management; the schools, for education; the welfare office, for administering public assistance to those who are eligible; police agencies, for law enforcement. Furthermore, taken as a whole, the services provided by all governmental institutions indicate, in a general sense, the composite public service needs of the population. The needs of individuals transcend functional categorizations, demanding the services that a multitude of institutions can provide.

Influence of Public Institutional Activities

The provision of public services has always influenced the life and decisions of the individual citizen. As this influence bears on a mass of individuals, its impact can be far-reaching; the particular nature and mix of public services at any one time can have a dramatic effect on the nature of social, economic, and physical development of the entire nation. For example, variations among the states in the flexibility of welfare administration and eligibility requirements influence inter-regional population migration. The determination of postal rates and zones by the post office department influences the location of book printing and publishing firms. The placement of an Interstate highway can profoundly affect the location of jobs and housing in a metropolitan area. The establishment of rail freight rates can determine whether one port has the ability to compete with another. The opening of new water resources for cultivation of arid land influences distribution of income among regions. And the list can go on.

Myopic Administration

Despite their far-reaching consequences, the administration of public services and the development of policies for providing these services are carried out by functionally separate institutions which, in practice, fail to recognize the total impact of their policies and the relationship of their programs to those of other agencies. This situation is complicated by the fact that governmental policies are developed on the local, state, and national levels. There has never been a real attempt, on a nationwide scale, to monitor the inconsistencies among the myriad public programs at hand, which frequently work toward conflicting ends.

In discussing the need for greater sensitivity to this problem on the part of the Federal establishment, as well as a national urban policy, Daniel P. Moynihan states that frequently

> The political appointees and career executives concerned do not see themselves as involved with, much less responsible for the urban consequences of their programs and policies. They are, to their minds, simply building highways, guaranteeing mortgages, advancing agriculture, or whatever. No one has made clear to them that they are simultaneously redistributing employment opportunities, segregating or desegregating neighborhoods, depopulating the countryside and filling the slums, etc.: all these things as second and

third consequences of nominally unrelated programs.[1]

Impact of Public Institutions on the Individual Citizen

For most citizens, the full impact of governmental influences on their lives has gone relatively unnoticed, except in the case of policies requiring a family member to fight in a war abroad. Most policies lack visibility; and most Americans take public services for granted. They are not particularly dependent on these services and can, except under emergency circumstances, usually provide themselves with the essentials for living and satisfy their daily needs with their own private resources.

Within particular areas of the nation, however, there are population clusters which depend more heavily on public services for survival. Public services may play a substantial role in obtaining food, shelter, and health care, and in providing transportation to or skills for employment. The conditions of families and individuals living within poor sections of central cities actually involve syndromes of interrelated problems such that the solution of one can be accomplished only in conjunction with solutions to others. The needs of each individual reflect this complex human situation. To persons who are dependent on public services, the influence of such services on their lives is highly visible. Therefore, where numerous separately run institutions carry out programs which attempt to influence the personal lives of individuals directly and positively, it is crucial to examine their ability as single-purpose institutions to respond to complexity.

It is certainly necessary, for regional development reasons, to gain a better understanding of how institutions can recognize the consequences of their seemingly "unrelated" programs and respond by changing their activities so to exert a more consonant influence on the social, economic, and physical shape of the urban environment. It is just as urgent, for human development reasons, to re-evaluate these programs in terms of their combined impact on individual lives: on human dignity, personal security, intellectual development, opportunity, and hope.

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[1] Daniel P. Moynihan, "Toward a National Urban Policy," The Public Interest, XVII (Fall, 1969), 8.

Statement of the Problem

This study is concerned with the ability of public elementary schools and relocation agencies in large central cities to recognize the consequences of unrelated programs in order to respond to the individual needs of children--needs which transcend legal and functional domain. Education is one of our most valued public services. In the inner sections of large cities, however, the school is beset by a multitude of problems which hamper the effective provision of its service. These problems are reviewed in detail in Chapter II of this report.

Inner-City Pupil Mobility

One such problem is high pupil turnover, which is a result of the excessive residential mobility in inner-city areas. Relocation activities carried out by housing and redevelopment agencies and other governmental organizations contribute to this mobility. Chapter III discusses the incidence of pupil mobility in large city schools. Population mobility can place stress on public service institutions, especially where the population is dependent on them. Where pupil transiency is high among central city school districts, an extra burden is placed on the schools' administrative and supervisory activities.[2] High pupil mobility can also influence the effectiveness of the schools' educational programs.

Stresses of Mobility on the Child

Mobility also creates stresses on families who move; the seriousness of stress on any individual family member depends on the circumstances surrounding the move. For example, a family moving from an old house to a newly-built house, both located in the same small town and school district, will not have to put up with much more stress than that associated with the transference of household goods and resettling. However, when a family moves to a new community, the need for the parents to look for new jobs and for the children to change schools, the missing of old friends and the meeting of new friends, all require greater capacity for readjustment. Readjustment to the new situation may never come for the large poor family that lives in the central city; is on unstable grounds economically, socially, emotionally; and is likely to be dependent on several service institutions for necessities.

The Cooperative Response of Two Public Institutions

Public resettlement services are not available in this country for all families who desire or desperately need various types of help associated with moving. Agencies do exist which provide assistance to the mobile under specified circumstances. Public relocation services are provided to families and individuals displaced from their homes by government improvement programs such as urban redevelopment, highway construction, and code enforcement. These services are usually administered by a local housing and/or redevelopment authority, transportation department, and health department, respectively. Such services have generally included provision of assistance in finding a new home and payment of moving expenses.

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[2] Blanche Robins Kasindorf, Pupil Transiency in the Elementary and Junior High Schools, School Year 1959-1960, Pamphlet No. 166, Board of Education of the City of New York, Bureau of Educational Program Research and Statistics.

The alleviation of deteriorating physical conditions in many sections of large central cities and the addition of new capital improvements will certainly require an increasing amount of family displacement and resultant stresses on individual members. Just what the effects of forced moves have been on child members of families is uncertain. The needs of the urban mobile school child; the importance of education as a public service provided by the school; and the existence of agencies whose single purpose is to provide moving aid, provide an opportunity to examine the ability of two functional institutions to respond to human needs.

Study Objectives

Although the initial portions of this study explore some of the problems and opportunities encountered by the school child who moves, the objectives of this research are essentially twofold: (1) to determine the extent and nature of cooperation between elementary schools and relocation agencies in responding to the mobile child, and (2) to uncover the reasons for organizational cooperation--or its absence--in terms of the particular traits of each institutional type. The prime purpose of the study is to gain insights into the relationships which already exist between the public relocation agency and school.

Insights acquired here, hopefully, will provide a better understanding of what forms of organizational behavior are desirable and how specialized organizations can be encouraged to perform in desired ways. This study attempts to avoid social ills by correcting the institutional processes which cause them, rather than to devise programs which treat the conditions resulting from the operation of imperfect institutions. Furthermore, information gained should be useful to the urban planner who works on the staff of a central planning agency of an urban local or regional government.

Statement of Hypotheses

The major mission of this study--to investigate the ability of the elementary school and relocation agency to respond cooperatively to complex human needs--was accomplished in four cities via interviewing school and relocation officials. Six hypotheses, having to do with organizational structure and performance, were formulated and explored. They are essentially specifications of the following generic hypotheses: that there is little, if any, cooperative response between public elementary schools and relocation agencies in serving the mobile school child, and that any variation in level or type of interaction between these institutions is related to some special or unique internal characteristics of the school, the relocation agency, or both. The specific hypotheses have been formed through a study of organizational literature. They are:

> Responsive interaction between the public elementary school and relocation agency will be greater--

(a) the less each organization is attached to a vertical hierarchy of organizations from which it can acquire needed resources.

(b) the more the functions and objectives of each organization are similar as reflected in the type and amount of interest shown in their respective clients.

(c) the more consensus between them exists regarding each other's organizational "domain."

(d) the greater the complexity of each organization's staff: i.e., professional diversity, training, experience, etc.

(e) the more each organization's decision-making structure is decentralized.

(f) the less operating procedures in each organization are formalized and routinized.

These specific hypotheses are discussed in Chapter I.

To explore these hypotheses, the research has focused on relocation agencies and schools operating within four large central cities, all located within the northern portion of the midwestern region of the United States. The investigation focuses, in particular, on neighborhoods where pupil transiency is high, and where the quality of public education is relatively deficient. The cities are Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The premise upon which this project is based is that there exists a relationship between pupil mobility and educational performance. The initial portion of the report reviews existing literature on the incidence of school pupil mobility and the possible effects of mobility on the child's development. This information is supplemented by data from an exploratory survey dealing with the experiences and attitudes of a group of low income family relocatees with elementary school children who recently moved within Milwaukee. These preliminary studies add weight to the validity of investigating the organizational relationships between the relocation agency and the public school--the major focus of this project.

Scope of this Study

Distinguishing between what this research will do and what it will not do is a helpful way to clarify the scope of the study. First, this research will not examine or evaluate in depth the substantive nature of services provided by the school or the relocation agency. For example, there will be no intensive discussion of the curriculum, the compensatory reading programs, the school lunch program, or psychological services offered by the school to its students, mobile or immobile. Secondly, this research will not attempt to measure the effectiveness or success of educational and relocation programs. For example, statistical summaries of the number of families relocated to decent, safe, and sanitary housing or the number of students attaining a respectable level of achievement will not be discussed or compared. Finally, the findings of this research will not lead to a prescription of what the substantive nature of response to the mobile child ought to be--whether it should be counseling, compensatory educational programs, bussing to the original school to avoid school transfer, or whatever.

This research will show organizational interaction as it relates or fails to relate to the mobile child. For example, it may show the extent and nature of a particular program which was jointly developed by the school and relocation agency to better serve the needs of the mobile child. The study will show what influences organizational behavior, rather than measuring the effectiveness of interorganizational response. For example, it may be found that the presence of a significant proportion of psychiatrists on the staff of a relocation agency tends to influence cooperative response between the schools and relocation agency. This research will also suggest ways in which institutional behavior might be influenced, if need be, to serve special needs. For example, the findings may suggest that where school administrators possess more autonomy in making decisions there is a greater chance for relations to develop between the school and other service agencies.

Review of Literature

An extensive review of literature having to do with urban public education, public relocation, and organizational theory failed to shed much light on the major subject to be explored here. A vast amount of literature exists dealing with the problems of improving the quality of public education within large city schools. Yet most of this literature fails to focus on how the programs of various central city agencies relate to those of the school and vice versa, beyond brief mention of the problem.

The Call for "Coordination" Between the School and Other Local Organizations

A few relatively recent sources dealing with the urban education problem do mention the need for increased coordination between the school and particular agencies, such as health and welfare, in responding to the increasing seriousness and volume of community problems.[3] Unfortunately, "coordination"--an ambiguous and much overused term--is given little meaning in these writings. The term has been assigned with many different definitions. To some it is the bargaining, consulting, and negotiating which takes place throughout a decision-making process. To others it is the central direction given to a system of separately operating functions. It has been also interpreted as a mutual interaction or adaption between different bodies. To others, coordination is a situation in which numerous groups or agencies work according to the same broad policies, toward shared objectives, or under common rules of behavior.[4]

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[3] For example, see Carl L. Marburger, "Considerations for Educational Planning," and Henry Saltzman, "The Community School in the Urban Setting," in A. Harry Passow, ed., Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966), pp. 298-331.

Unfortunately, most of the literature mentioning coordination between the schools and other community agencies has to do with activities such as sharing and gathering community survey data, bringing together administrators at various inter-agency meetings, or sharing physical facilities. This type of coordination is meant primarily to bring about certain benefits which accrue to the organizations themselves (e.g., operational efficiency); the benefits for the individual who is served by the organization are doubtful and difficult to determine. This lack of specificity in defining the meaning and benefits of coordination in the literature suggests that coordination is a valued end in itself rather than a means to accomplish other ends.

Kahn's entire study deals with various aspects of utilizing community agencies, including the school, in an integrated approach to providing comprehensive services for children in trouble.[5] Studies such as his, which emphasize description of the substantive nature of special child-oriented services, are important. The present sutdy, however, stresses the ability of two functional institutions to relate to one another in providing responsive services, rather than the particular nature of those services provided through cooperation. Though literature on urban education sometimes mentions coordination problems between the school and particular service functions, it does not deal with the relocation function.

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[4] Charles E. Lindblom, The Intelligence of Democracy (New York: The Free Press, 1966). Insights concerning the alternative definitions of coordination are included in this book.

[5] Alfred J. Kahn, Planning Community Services for Children in Trouble (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).

Literature on Relocation

An enormous amount of material which addresses itself to various facets of the urban crisis touches on the problems of relocation. In addition, there are a substantial number of empirical studies which are concerned with the effectiveness of relocation programs and their problems, but mostly those occurring in conjunction with urban renewal. This type of literature can be separated into two basic categories: (1) that which accentuates what relocation has done, and (2) that which emphasizes what relocation has not accomplished.[6]

The first position is frequently held by officials who have been in charge of urban renewal programs, who acknowledge the existence of relocation problems, but indicate that programs and policies are improving and making such problems less significant.[7] The opposing view, often held by social scientists and some planning intellectuals, centers around the belief that a loss of home and community may involve serious financial, social, and psychological costs for families if their problems are not recognized and met by relocation programs.[8]

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[6] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Relocation: Unequal Treatment of People and Businesses Displaced by Governments (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 40-52.

[7] Housing and Home Finance Agency, Office of the Administrator, The Housing of Relocated Families: Summary of a Bureau of Census Survey of Families Recently Displaced from Urban Renewal Sites (Washington, 1965); and William L. Slayton, "The Operation and Achievements of the

One of the primary weaknesses of the existing relocation literature, for our purposes, has been its failure to identify the strain which the relocation process exerts on the school child and on educational institutions. Recent trends tending towards a better understanding of the educational needs of various sub-groups in central cities have not yet sensitized critics of relocation into documenting their thoughts along this line.

The absence of literature and empirical research on relations between the central city school and the relocation service agency highlights the need for inquiry. The marginally related literature which does exist merely provides useful background information. A different type of literature does exist, however, which has been particularly relevant in designing the approach of this study. This literature, which discusses theoretical interpretations of interorganizational relations, has been recently evolving as a part of the more general body of literature having to do with organizational theory.

Urban Renewal Program," in James Q. Wilson, ed., Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1967), pp. 189-229.

[8] A sampling of these studies includes Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962); David Thursz, Where Are They Now? (Washington: Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, 1966); and Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of Relocation," and Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," both in Wilson, op. cit. The Thursz study shows that some fundamental problems, rooted in poverty, continued, or even intensified, during the five years following relocation from Southwest Washington, D. C.

Evolving Organizational Theory

Regarding organizational analyses, especially in administrative science and political sociology, studies of purposive change have traditionally focused upon problems of organizational effectiveness. Much of this literature has been concerned with influences upon effectiveness from within the organization. For example, the early work of Max Weber distinguished three typical ways by which authority in organizations is legitimized and articulated the features of rational-legal bureaucracy as an alternative to the charismatic and traditional types.[9] Later the human relations approach evolved out of the recognition of the failure of more classical forms of organization to incorporate humanistic features and social dynamics.[10]

More recent theories of complex organizations have attempted to integrate the humanistic and classical features of earlier theories and to move beyond the boundaries of the organization to an examination of interorganizational and field relationships. Prominent among these theories are those embodying concepts and procedures of systems analysis. The open system cybernetic model developed by Katz and Kahn is an example of the systems approach.[11] In addition to encouraging a higher degree of sophistication in analysis of the interplay of sociological and structural factors within the organization, the cybernetic, open-systems model places major emphasis upon the environmental and field relationships of the organization. In essence, it attempts to portray the organization in society.

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[9] Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, trans. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1947).

[10] For example, see Elton Mayo, The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization (London: Macmillan, 1933); and F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[11] Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1966).

The theory of purposive social organization, relationships, and change is currently a lively arena of debate and investigation.

> What can be said is that at the polar extremes of social philosophy lie the laissez-faire ideology, holding essentially that interorganizational transaction and interaction ought not to be regulated by the larger societal system save in those rare instances where grave social damage would result from non-intervention; and the totalitarian view that all organizations within a society exist for the benefit of the society and therefore must be regulated by the social order both in their relations with other organizational components of the society and in their internal affairs in order to realize the greatest social good.[12]

Recent literature has attempted to describe the future nature of organizations, but these studies are more a projection of an evolutionary pattern than a prescription as to effective organizational strategy.[13] According to the general argument, the pace of change is becoming so rapid in modern society that continuing structures quickly lose their reason for being and sometimes become barriers to effective problem solving.

In response, it is predicted that organizations will experiment with new and unusual forms created to deal with new and more complex situations. Hence, the literature anticipates that organizations will become more flexible, creative structures and will be more responsive to the needs and desires of people, especially in terms of their self-development.

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[12] Kenneth K. Henning, "Organizing America's Cities: Toward a Convergence of Administrative Theory and Municipal Practice" (paper prepared at the Center for Advanced Study in Organization Science, University of Wisconsin, n. d.), p. 33. (Mimeographed.)

[13] Warren G. Bennis, Changing Organizations (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966); Warren G. Bennis, "Post-Bureaucratic Leadership,"

A growing amount of organizational literature and analysis is emphasizing the importance of organizational strategies which take into account relationships beyond the boundaries of the organization. Furthermore, the trend seems to be toward development of a concept of the total interorganizational field in given issue areas rather than toward maximizing the effectiveness and efficiency of component units.

The Usefulness of Interorganizational Literature

Much of the more recent interorganizational work has focused on community service organizations, such as health agencies and community chests. Despite its early stage of development, research such as that of Levine and White, Litwak and Hylton, Thompson, Warren, and others presents useful schemes for conceptualizing the research described in these pages, as well as providing thoughtful concepts and hypotheses regarding interorganizational relations.[14] The use of interorganizational concepts not only provides a base from which we can investigate the reasons for relationships between the public school and relocation agency, but also in conjunction with the findings, suggests ways in which organizational relationships may be encouraged if necessary, both for the two types of institutions studied here, and for various public human-service-oriented organizations in our society, especially those within the large central city.

Transaction (Summer, 1969), 44-51, 61; and Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam, 1971), pp. 124-151.

[14] Sol Levine and P. E. White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships," Administrative Science Quarterly, V (March, 1961), 583-597; Eugene Litwak and Lydia F. Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Coordinating Agencies," Administrative Science Quarterly, VI (March, 1962); James D. Thompson, ed., Approaches to Organizational Design (Pittsburgh:

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Organization of this Report

The material which is presented in this report falls into four major parts: (1) a discussion of conceptual and methodological considerations; (2) a discussion of residential mobility, school-pupil transiency, and the effects of moving on the school child in the inner city; (3) a discussion of the research findings regarding the extent and nature of interaction between the school and relocation agency in response to the child and of the pertinent characteristics of each organization which determine cooperation; and (4) a discussion of the implications of the findings, juxtaposed to organizational theory, for the planning of interorganizational relations.

Chapter I includes a discussion of the context of the study, methodologies, conceptual development, and statement of hypotheses. The high amounts of intra-city population mobility and resultant effects on school transiency are presented in Chapter II. Drawing from literature and the Milwaukee study findings, Chapter III discusses the potential effects of mobility on the school child of the inner city. Chapter IV presents the major research findings and shows how particular organizational properties relate to the dependent activity of organizational interaction in response to the mobile child. Chapter V examines the varying structure and performance of both the elementary schools and relocation agencies as they relate to the interaction observed between the two types of institutions. The final chapter interprets the findings to suggest how changes in interorganizational behavior may be encouraged.

University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966); and Roland L. Warren, "The Interorganizational Field as a Focus for Investigation," Administrative Science Quarterly, XII (December, 1967), 396-419.

CHAPTER I

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study is primarily concerned with the ability of city public elementary schools and public relocation service agencies to respond to the individual needs of mobile school children. With this in mind, this research attempts to answer a number of questions.

How serious is pupil mobility in the inner city? Does the intensity of pupil mobility in predominantly low income inner-city areas contrast with the intensity of pupil mobility in other parts of the central city and metropolitan area? How does moving affect the inner-city child who must transfer schools?

What has been the response on the part of the public school and/or the relocation agency in response to the mobile school child? What is the nature and extent of exchange between these two types of organizations? What are the reasons for the presence or absence of exchange between them? Finally, what implications can be drawn from the findings regarding (a) the improvement of relationships between the school and relocation agency in response to the child, (b) the planning of institutional change, (c) the role of the public planner in b, and (d) further directions for research? The remainder of this chapter describes the conceptual and methodological considerations which were taken into account in designing a research effort which could get to the answers of the above questions.

Definition of Terms

Several terms, used frequently throughout this report, need to be clarified. The terms institution, organization, and agency are used interchangeably unless otherwise specified. They refer to groups of public servants who are organized to attain special goals or carry out particular functions.

For purposes of study, the relocation agencies and public schools will be viewed as "organizations," in the sociological sense. An organization is a human grouping. It can be distinguished from other types of human aggregates such as primary groups, voluntary associations, communities, and nations. Some sociologists limit organizations to those social units or groups formed to seek specific goals; to them, this is the feature which distinguishes organizations from other social groups.[1] Another distinction is that while the characteristics and actions of primary groups are usually diffuse, those of organizations tend to have a certain degree of specification and are always planned.[2] The author chooses to assume that the reader has a fairly crisp conception of what an organization is and prefers to use the broad definition supplied by Barnard: an organization is a "system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons."[3]

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 3; and Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Societies (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), p. 17.

[2] Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, I (June, 1956), 63-85.

The term bureaucracy is used here to mean that type of hierarchical organization which is designed rationally to coordinate the work of many individuals in the pursuit of large-scale administrative tasks. This term is used in the sociological sense, as designating a certain type of structure, but is not to be equated with routine, inefficiency, red tape, and the like.[4] As the term is being used here, every bureaucracy is an organization, but any organization need not be a bureaucracy. Furthermore, an organization like the public elementary school can be a part of a bureaucracy (a larger organization).

Transiency and mobility refer to any movement associated with the geographical relocation of one's place of residence. Turnover refers to the amount or proportion of pupils entering and leaving a school during a specified period of time. Unless specified, pupil turnover is a result of geographical relocation of residence.[5]

Finally, it is necessary to distinguish between the terms central city and inner city as they are used in this report. The central city is usually defined within the context of a metropolitan region.

> Each metropolitan area consists of heavily populated land whose central and other portions have a high degree of economic and social interaction. The central portion is generally called

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[3] Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), p. 73.

[4] Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings (New York: Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 463.

[5] Appendix A contains specific definitions of pupil mobility as defined by the public school systems studied in this project. See p. 264.

> central city (cities). It is the major population, economic, social, and governmental center of the area, but it is not necessarily central in spatial terms; that is, at the geographical center of the area. The other portions are usually called the suburban or outlying parts.[6]

The current criteria used by the U. S. Census Bureau in designating a geographic area as being metropolitan in character is that it has a central city with a population size of at least 50,000.[7] We will use Census criteria in defining central city in this study.

Inner city is a term which has gradually evolved to become associated with primarily residential sub-sections of central cities having distinct social, economic, and physical conditions. In central cities of the North Central and Northeastern sections of the United States, inner-city areas are frequently singled out due to the predominance of black residents. Inner-city areas can be more accurately identified, however, as sub-sections of central cities which are in a state of comprehensive decay; this is independent of the location of the central city of which they are a part or the ethnic background of their population.

Inner-city areas are defined here as being those sections of central cities where the symptoms of lower class society are prevalent. Low aspiration, poor education, family instability, illegitimacy, unemployment, crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, frequent illness, and early death are some of the common symptoms.[8] The most visible characteristic of the inner city is its physical ugliness and deteriorated physical structures.

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[6] John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 6-7.

[7] Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas," April, 1967, Washington, D. C. (Xeroxed.) This memo is currently being revised as Circular No. A-46, August, 1971.

[8] Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 27.

Examples of inner-city areas, in accordance with the definition used here, are Harlem, Lawndale, and Hough. Examples of central cities are New York City, Chicago, and Cleveland.

Public education and relocation services are administered on a central-city-wide basis. This study focuses on how they relate to children living and moving within the inner-city areas of their respective central cities. Thus, the context within which the study takes place is the inner city of large metropolitan areas.

The Study Context

Selection of Study Sites

The study was limited to four cities since the finds are not meant to describe the U. S. situation, but merely to develop some sound hypotheses that might be tested elsewhere. Each of the study cities had a 1960 Census population of 450,000 or more and is located within the North Central-Great Lakes region of the United States.[9] These cities--Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Minneapolis, Minnesota--were selected primarily due to their similarities in terms of geographic location, population size, and age.[10]

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[9] Since this study was initiated, the 1970 Census population figures have become available. Following are the 1970 population estimates for the four central-city study sites: Cleveland, 751,000; Detroit, 1,509,000; Milwaukee, 717,000; and Minneapolis, 434,000 (St. Paul, Minnesota, 310,000).

[10] Chicago, Illinois was excluded due to its disproportionately large size; its 1960 population of 3,550,000 is almost equal to the combined populations of the four selected cities.

Their location within the North Central region, for example, has a great deal to do with the similar nature and extent of population in-migration experienced (both past and present), their current level of industrialization, their socio-cultural milieu, and their administrative relationships with the Federal bureaucracy.[11] Another important reason for the selection of this particular set of cities was the availability of data useful to this study. Beyond the location of the study sites, their inner-city areas are most appropriate for this study since the complexity and seriousness of the human situation in them is a powerful threat to any attempt to improve the intellectual and overall development of a child.[12]

The Inner City

The current difficulties of providing a learning experience appropriate to the various life styles of many students in these inner-city areas represents both a critical dilemma and a challenge for public policy-makers to face. It is abundantly clear that the complexity of problems is not only a result of any peculiar abilities of the child, or of the practices and procedures of the public school system and its operation alone, but is firmly rooted in the environment to which the child is constantly attached and within which the school must operate.

The inner-city environment is characterized by numerous elements, all interacting while contributing to the monumental problems of city schools. It is extremely difficult to rank the various elements in terms of their importance to the urban student and his education. As stated by the Riles Report, prepared by the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "Some, of course, are clearly more significant than others, such as health and food, but beyond the basic survival level, the ordering by significance becomes increasingly less clear."[13]

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[11] For example, most of the local relocation agencies' contacts with the Federal government are carried out via the same U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Regional Office in Chicago, Illinois. See Appendix D, p. 300.

[12] Inner-city areas within the study cities include the Hough area

Due to the intense interaction of environmental elements, it is difficult to determine cause and effect relationships, as well. It is important, however, to bear in mind the ecology of the particular type of environmental setting with which we are dealing in this study. The discussion which follows describes the inner-city context conceptualized as having three major elements: conditions, institutions, and values. In reality, these elements are complexly related to one another. Within the framework provided, however, the numerous and unique elements impinging on the urban school child directly and indirectly can be described. In addition, the following discussion serves to paint a general picture of the study context.

Conditions

"Conditions" refers to the social, economic, and physical traits and trends caused by the development of urbanized areas over time. Since World War II, one such condition has been the migration of many

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of Cleveland, Model Cities area in Detroit, Inner Core of Milwaukee, and the Model Cities area and Near North Side of Minneapolis.

[13] Report of the Task Force on Urban Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Office of Education, Wilson C. Riles, chairman, Congressional Record, CXV (January 20, 1970), E34.

middle and upper income members of city populations to the suburbs. At the same time, many low income residents have either remained or moved into central cities. This pattern has created a situation in which the high tax producers--business and professional salaried persons--are leaving the city, while the consumers of taxes--the more impoverished populace--are replacing them and concentrating in the inner city. Many of the latter are racial or ethnic minorities.

Thus the city is left with a dependent population, largely segregated according to race and ethnicity, which has a definite need for services but an inability to pay for them. This condition is contributing to the deterioration of the city tax-base, while at the same time demanding higher costs for education, as well as other services such as welfare, low income housing, and fire and police protection. In addition, services must be provided for people living in the suburbs and working in the central city such as freeways, infrastructure for large office buildings, traffic control, and refuse collection.[14]

Education is more costly in the central city than in other areas. It takes more resources to effectively educate a child from an economically disadvantaged background than to educate a child from a middle or upper income background who may receive extra academic help, attention, motivation, and private tutoring at home. Also, relatively higher maintenance and security expenditures are required for schools within the city, largely because of vandalism.

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[14] A more detailed review of these conditional aspects of metropolitan areas may be found in the following sources: John C. Bollens and Henry J. Schmandt, The Metropolis: Its People, Politics, and Economic Life (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), pp. 1-140, 245-273; and David C. Ranney, Planning and Politics in the Metropolis (Columbus,

Other conditions which affect the inner-city child's education and the school's ability to reach him are malnutrition and dietary inadequacies. A malnourished child will respond less to his surroundings and thus learn less from them; he will not react so candidly and will be more apathetic; thus parental attention and affection may be reduced since the need for it may not be expressed by the child. Also, an ailment which results from malnutrition may interfere with the child's learning process and result in later and more lingering effects on mental performance.[15]

The child in the inner city lives and grows up within the shadow of unemployment and underemployment. Perceiving the difficulties which others around him have in becoming gainfully employed makes education seem less relevant, less purposeful, and less attractive. The continuing trend of metropolitan economic decentralization has not improved this matter. Retail establishments have been following the population shift toward the suburbs. Manufacturing establishments have been decentralizing. The suburbs and periphery of metropolitan areas offer better transportation facilities, more space, and lower taxes, which encourage firms to make the move.

The meaning of this decentralization of economic activities is double: (1) the growth in jobs is mainly taking place in the suburbs, and (2) the transportation systems and job recruiting channels are not well-geared for the inner-city residents who want to work. Inner-city residents, many of whom do not have marketable skills in the first place,

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Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969), Chapter 5.

[15] J. Cravioto, E. DeLichardie, and H. G. Birch, "Nutrition, Growth and Neuro-Integrative Development: An Experiment and Ecologic Study," Pediatrics, No. 38 (1966).

do not know about many available jobs and cannot get to them easily.[16] Furthermore, if an inner-city resident who is black does find a job, studies have shown that he may not receive an income equivalent to that of most white employees working at the same level.[17]

The poor condition of housing, overcrowding, intense environmental pollution, and accumulating refuse all contribute to the health dilemma in the inner city. The substandard housing and overcrowding factors have an effect on children's learning ability as well. The deteriorating physical environment demands that neighborhoods be redeveloped or refurbished, the result being the forcing of large numbers of low-income families out of their dwellings and into searching for a new home among a dwindling supply of low-cost housing. In addition to the direct economic and social-psychological consequences these actions bring to the families involved, they contribute to the high residential turnover in inner-city areas.

A dwindling central city tax base, a growing demand for more central city services, malnutrition, unemployment and low economic status, poor living conditions, and high residential mobility are some of the more basic elements of the inner-city environment which are interrelated and make it difficult for many children who live there to receive a stable and protective family life, as well as a useful and meaningful education.

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[16] Benjamin Chinitz, ed., City and Suburb: The Economics of Metropolitan Growth (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964); E. Hoover and R. Vernon, Anatomy of a Metropolis (New York: Doubleday, 1962); National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 123-131; D. K. Newman, "The Decentralization of Jobs," Monthly Labor Review (May, 1967), 7-13; and Wilbur Thompson, A Preface to Urban Economics (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965).

[17] Report of the Task Force on Urban Education, CXV (January 20, 1970), E37.

The conditions of the inner city threaten the success of the public educational system in achieving its basic objectives.[18]

Institutions

Institutions are set forth here as being well-established patterns for meeting human needs, generally carried out by established organizations. Institutions encourage normative behavior and carry out policies (through practices, laws, customs) that set forth methods by which human needs are to be met. Institutions can be public or private, formal or informal.

The multiplicity of public agencies which perform various social and economic functions has become a familiar component of the inner-city area, and these agencies are exerting more and more pressure on one another, including the school and its educational program. The population is highly dependent on services provided by many of these institutions. They include organizations such as the welfare agency, health center, housing and urban renewal agencies, police department, civic and service groups, churches, organized gangs, economic opportunity centers, manpower training centers, drug rehabilitation centers, youth development organizations and others, all of which can have a considerable effect on the socialization and skill development of the child who grows up in the inner city. The public relocation agency is a part of this organizational agglomeration.

Furthermore, many local institutions are becoming more oriented toward district, regional, state or national offices and less and less to one another within the inner city (or within the central city or metropolitan area). As they become more closely related to the state and national systems, much of their decision-making prerogative concerning their function and structure is transferred vertically to headquarters and regional offices, leaving a narrower scope of function over which local units, responsible to the local community, can exercise autonomous power.[19]

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[18] For a comprehensive discussion of the problems of the public school in the central city and city conditions as they relate to the school, see Report of the Task Force on Urban Education of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Office of Education.

A wide array of institutional services exists in most urban areas, yet the total needs of the clientele cannot be met by these services unless such efforts are integrated and done so at the local level.[20] Like those of the school, the program activities of other socializing and service organizations, such as relocation agencies, are usually implemented independently of one another in response to specialized needs and/or desires. This phenomena--the focusing toward the maximization of specific goals--creates distinct gaps of services and inconsistencies among the institutions in meeting community goals. It is the well-being of the family or its children which seems to suffer as a result of the inadequacies among specific goal-oriented agencies.

Values and Attitudes

Values and attitudes are another important component of the inner-city environment. Here, values are distinguished from attitudes as being of a more transcending nature which, in fact, guide one's attitudes.[21] Due to the seemingly infinite number of attitudes that exist in the inner city, and due to the relative importance of values, this discussion will focus upon a description of how certain values represent important parts of the inner-city context.

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[19] Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963). Warren distinguishes between horizontally-linked and vertically-linked organizations. See also David L. Sills, The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organization (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

[20] Matthew B. Miles, "Some Properties of Schools as Social Systems,"

Remembering that values shape individual attitudes, values themselves are shaped by other components of the environment. Values are initially a function of how people perceive they stand relative to their needs. Such perceptions are themselves related to the components of the environment: (a) how well the social system functions for them (conditions), (b) the structure of the system (institutions), and (c) values and attitudes of others shaped by such variables as similarities in culture, class, sex, occupation, education, religion, and political identification.

Values relevant to this study can be classified according to four reference groups: the residents of the inner city, the public institutions, the constituency of the institutions dealt with in this report (children), and the street-level bureaucrats. The following discussion presents some examples.

Of importance to most residents of the inner city who are visible ethnic minorities (especially blacks) is the value of equality--brotherhood, equal opportunity for all. The importance given this value is

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in Goodwin Watson, ed., Change in School Systems (Washington: National Training Laboratories, 1967), p. 4.

[21] There has been little consensus about the exact conceptual difference between an attitude and a value. Although they are frequently used interchangeably, they are differentiated here according to Rokeach's conception. See Milton Rokeach, "The Role of Values in Public Opinion

largely related to their historical oppression and relative deprivation as a racial group and current hope for economic, social, and political betterment stimulated by the civil rights movement. Black consciousness, one form of which is black power, means development of a new self-image and dignity among black people by increasing their control over organizations and institutions which affect them, their participation in the decision-making process, and their sense of community identification.[22] This movement has gained an impressive degree of strength and influence and is an indication of the growing importance placed on the value of self-respect within the black community.

Another dimension of values existing in the inner city is that possessed by public and private, formal and informal organizations. Private and informal organizations can have a wide variety of highly-regarded values among themselves; e. g., the church and salvation, the street gang and social recognition, the private business and a comfortable and prosperous life, or the family and security--taking care of loved ones.

There is much less variation among the values which public organizations regard highly. In most cases, public organizations are, at least in the long run, accountable to the public and, therefore, must be responsible in serving the public since their future existence depends on it. Thus, their ultimate value is responsibility. Since most public organizations must cater to such a diversity of individual citizens (and values),

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Research," The Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-1969), 547-559.

[22] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power (New York: Vintage, 1967).

they give much weight to the values of efficiency, reliability, precision, and fairness.[23] The public elementary school and the relocation agency are no different on this account.

It is difficult to discuss precisely the nature of the values held by the public organizational constituency with which this study deals. Although children of the inner city do have values, they are in some state of flux, being shaped and reshaped, due to the variability of day-to-day experiences which affect them at their younger, more impressionable stage of life.

The street-level bureaucrat[24] is that individual who is an employee of a public service organization and who has face-to-face contact with the individual citizens receiving a public service. Examples of the street-level bureaucrat in the inner city are the school teacher, policeman, and social worker.[25] To the extent that he has a job, relative economic security, and, in most cases, chooses to reside outside the inner city, the bureaucrat at street level brings into the inner city a set of values which are, to varying degrees, different from those normally found among inner-city residents.

The bureaucrats' values are more likely to be shaped by the norms of the middle class segment of our society. Values which a large portion of street-level bureaucrats are likely to superimpose on the inner city on a daily basis are ambition, individual responsibility, skills and achievement, worldly asceticism (postponing immediate satisfaction for long-term goals), rationality, getting along with people (manners, courtesy, personability), control of physical aggression, constructive leisure, and respect for property.[26]

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[23] Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Free Press, 1965), pp. 235-247.

[24] This term was originated by Michael Lipsky in "Toward a Theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy," Institute for Research on Poverty Discussion Papers (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1969).

[25] See National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, "Between Black and White--The Faces of American Institutions in the Ghetto" in Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 69-215.

Such individual values are consistent with what most public service organizations expect in their employees. For example, a person with ambition and certain skills is looked upon as a valuable asset by an organization. Furthermore, the more a bureaucrat gives of his time and energy to an organization, the more that organization will try to satisfy his desires regarding personal long-term goals, as long as he exhibits some semblance of rationality and has not been unkind or personally offending. Organizations such as the public school have rules which are meant to protect school facilities and property. The bureaucrat with middle class norms can easily support and enforce such rules.

On the other hand, the bureaucrat may choose to counteract, at certain times, the acceptance of organizational values especially where they are perceived to dominate or jeopardize more personal values which are held dearly, such as those related to career goals or inner satisfaction. An indication which exemplifies this phenomenon is the increasing organization and unionization of school teachers. Their more organized and militant grievance activities represent a general dissatisfaction with their teaching situation.

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[26] Thomas S. Langner, "Socioeconomic Status and Personality Characteristics" in School Children in the Urban Slum: Readings in Social Science Research, ed. by Joan I. Roberts (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 187.

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The context of this study has been conceptualized as a set of conditions, institutions, and values. Actually, these components are intricately tied to one another, some in a complementary way, others in conflict; some strongly, others weakly. Although the quality of urban life is deteriorating in a morass of environmental problems and issues so complex as to appear almost beyond remedy, the purpose of engaging in this somewhat extended description of the inner-city context was not to express this notion alone.

The inclusion of such a discussion is to serve also as a reminder to the reader that this study focuses on a specific part of the inner-city context, a part so relatively small that no matter what opportunities, new ideas, and recommendations are generated by the findings of this research, they will be of minimal value unless attempts are made to relate them subsequently back to the context. Numerous features of the inner-city environment will have to be taken into account in designing prescriptive attempts to improve the meaning and impact of education there. To bring successful results, any response of the school and/or relocation agency must be but a part of a more extensive strategy designed to stabilize and upgrade the learning experience of children within the inner city.

Basic Assumptions of the Organizational Analysis

Inner-City School Orientation

Many conditions of the inner-city environment have acted as obstacles to the fulfillment of educational objectives. Values and institutional factors many times complicate these conditions. Although acknowledging the existence of such problems, most urban public schools have not yet been able to respond adequately to the needs of school children within this distinctive environmental setting.

Many educators are beginning to realize that if schools are ever to become successful within the inner city and to respond more appropriately and effectively to the needs of the communities which they serve, their programs must reflect combinations of modified curriculum, staff development, enlightened staff attitudes, supportive services, parent support, and adequate funding.[27] It is assumed in this study--which deals with a particular aspect of the above--that the urban school is concerned with attempting to help minimize any negative effects of a school child's experience, including those derived from mobility.

Relocation Agency Orientation

An increasing number of people in inner cities have been forced to move to make way for public improvements such as urban renewal, highway construction, public housing construction, code enforcement, and other activities administered by agencies at all levels of government. Ever since 1937, the Federal government and, more recently, states and municipalities have authorized the provision of assistance to families, individuals, and businesses who have been forced to move for one of the above reasons. In 1937, the Federal legislation regarding displacement due to low-rent housing construction encouraged local authorities to

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[27] Report of the Task Force on Urban Education, CXVI (January 19, 1970), H9.

"exert every effort to relocate occupants into decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings well within their financial reach."[28] In 1956, the provisions for displacees were augmented when Congress authorized the payment of reasonable and necessary moving expenses to displacees.

Today, the preferable relocation objectives in housing and community development seem to be oriented toward eliminating substandard housing and finding and assuring a decent living environment for all residents; providing uniform relocation assistance to all displacees regardless of the purpose for which they must move; and providing social services in helping displacees readjust to new living patterns.[29] It is assumed in this study that relocation organizations--those agencies which are responsible for seeing to it that such assistance and services are passed on to the appropriate people--are concerned with minimizing the hardships of displacement and maximizing the opportunities it creates.

Psychological vs. Sociological Approach

The study of organizations can be encountered from several points of view. The particular perspective from which organizations are viewed largely depends on the specific purpose for which they are being researched. They can be studied in historical, economic, and political perspectives. The psychological approach views organizations as a collection of individuals whose mix of individual traits--such as values, behavior, personalities, aspirations, and interests--affect the way the organization goes about its business. Probably the most realistic and advanced conception of the organization is the socio-psychological approach which recognizes the interdependence between the "institution" and the "individual member," between the organizational role or position and the personality, between systemic expectations and human needs.[30] To consider all, or even some of the interacting organizational and human elements in this study, however, would be too complicated a task and would demand a sizeable undertaking beyond the objectives and resources of this particular project.

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[28] Robert P. Groberg, Centralized Relocation: A New Municipal Service (Washington, D. C.: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1969), p. 5.

[29] Ibid.

In this study the public school and relocation organizations are examined from a sociological perspective. They are seen as collective entities which are concerned with procurement of resources necessary to carry out their function, which have institutionalized procedures for bringing resources to bear on goal attainment, and which have patterns defining and regulating the limits of their commitment. Therefore, the sociological approach deals with organizational elements such as skills, social positions and organizational roles, rewards, decision-making, goals, and rules, but not individual personalities, ambitions, and frustrations.

It is a mistake to assume that any particular form of organization, in the sociological sense alone, determines its success in attaining goals or dealing with its environment. Panuch has stated that "any organization--whether it is of a business or government character--is nothing more than a vehicle through which policies are administered, decisions made, and operations audited in compliance with policies as established."[31] In discussing relocation, he suggests that what is needed is wise policies, responsive organization, and individuals who are sympathetic with the plight of those human beings whose homes, lives, and businesses are uprooted through no fault of their own. His statement can easily be applied to organizations with other goals.

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[30] Getzels portrays this theoretical conception of the organization most appropriately. See J. W. Getzels and E. G. Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administrative Process," The School Review, LXV (Winter, 1957), 429.

This study emphasizes how organizations carry out activities in terms of their organizational traits and interaction, rather than what they do in terms of the policies they support. This emphasis on the nature of organizations is not intended to demean the importance of policies as elements in moving toward objectives. Rather, the author feels that organizations have all too often been taken for granted by decision-makers, policy-makers, political advisors, and planners; their capacity for handling problems and effectuating policies has been frequently considered as a given. However, it is often the particular makeup of the organization designated to serve a certain policy which can hamper the actual accomplishment of the goals that policy pursues.

On the other hand, an organization with a different mix of sociological traits might be better prepared to adapt to changes in its environment and might respond with greater success to it. The ability to recognize such features of organizations and to see how they relate to organizational performance is important to the planner, especially if he is involved in applying the process of planning to the fields of education, health, and other human services.

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[31] J. Anthony Panuch, Relocation in New York City, Report to the

For the purpose of studying the nature and extent of organizational behavior, and particularly interaction, the sociological emphasis seems most appropriate, for, if in the outcome of this study it becomes possible to suggest that changes in certain organizational characteristics are liable to lead toward particular forms of interorganizational behavior, those prescribed changes and modified behavior will be more than just changes and differences in individual personnel. Furthermore, emphasis on the sociological perspective enables a sharper focus on those features of the organization deemed to be important for the purposes of this study and reduces the complexity of discussing organizational characteristics such as the influences and interactions of myriad individuals.

Restatement of Hypotheses

Levine and White present a conception of interorganizational relations useful to this study.[32] In their view, interrelationships can be seen as exchanges of elements taking place among organizations. Organizations have a need for three primary elements: clients or the people they serve, labor services, and resources; under conditions of scarcity (as in the inner city), interorganizational exchanges are also essential for goal attainment. According to Levine and White, the potential interdependence between any two organizations is a function of the degree to which three determinants of exchange exist within the organizations studied: the access of each to useful resources outside the health

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Mayor (New York: City of New York, Office of the Mayor, 1959).

[32] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 583-597. Their framework is similar to the exchange model suggested by

system,[33] the objectives and functions of the organizations, and their acceptance of the nature and usefulness of one another's activities and right to perform them (domain consensus).

Three of the hypotheses developed for this study are modeled after these three postulated determinants of organizational exchange. Restated, they are that responsive interaction between the public elementary school and relocation agency will be greater (a) the less each organization is attached to a vertical hierarchy of organizations from which it can acquire needed resources,[34] (b) the more the functions and objectives of each organization are similar as reflected in the type and amount of interest shown in their respective clients, and (c) the more consensus between them exists regarding each other's organizational "domain." Together, these three hypotheses refer to organizational *interactive capacity*.[35] Thus, in this study, interaction is hypothesized to be dependent on the interactive capacities of both the school and the relocation agency.

The degree of interorganizational exchange which takes place may depend upon several additional determinants in the form of internal structural characteristics of the partner organizations. Much of the

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Homans. See George C. Homans, "Social Behavior as Exchange," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (1958), 597-606.

[33] Levine and White's study dealt with health organizations.

[34] This first postulate represents a modification of Levine and White's first exchange determinant since it refers to an organization's relative independence from agencies outside the *local* community and greater dependence upon the rest of the *local* system of agencies.

[35] Terms referring to interaction and exchange activities are used interchangeably.

literature which exists on organizational behavior suggests that certain combinations of organizational properties will increase the capacity of that organization to innovate.[36] Furthermore, there are indications that innovative behavior frequently results in greater interorganizational relations, since the recognized need for organizational change frequently demands new resources and, in turn, the exchange of elements with other organizations.[37]

In light of the above, three more hypotheses have been developed for use in this study which refer to organizational *innovative capacity*. They are stated as follows: responsive interaction between the public elementary school and relocation agency will be greater (d) the greater the complexity of each organization's staff; i. e., professional diversity, training, experience, etc., (e) the more each organization's decision-making structure is decentralized, and (f) the less operating procedures in each organization are formalized and routinized.

In this study it is postulated, then, that the organizational characteristics representing a *capacity to interact*, along with the selected organizational characteristics representing a *capacity to* innovate, determine how much one organization will cooperate and work with another. The conceptualization of the research problem based on the above discussion of hypotheses is as follows:

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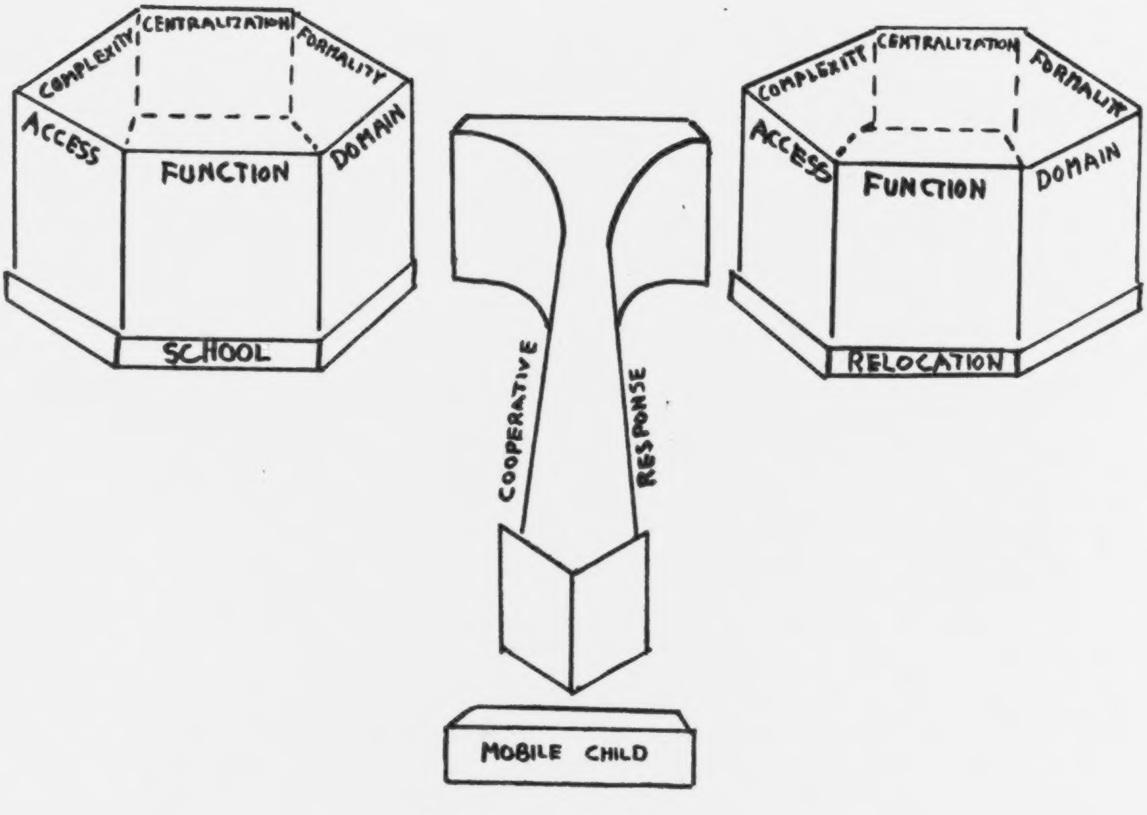
[36] Jerald Hage and Michael Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties: A Comparative Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXXII (March, 1967), 503-519; Hage and Aiken, *Social Change in Complex Organizations* (New York: Random House, 1970); Lawrence Mohr, "Determinants of Innovation in Organizations," *American Political Science Review* (March, 1969), 111-126; Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, X (June, 1965), 1-20; and James Q. Wilson, "Innovation in Organization: Notes Toward a Theory," in *Approaches to Organizational Design*, ed. by James D. Thompson (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1966), pp. 195-216.

[37] Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "Organizational Interdependence and Intraorganizational Structure," *American Sociological Review*, XXXIII (December, 1968), 912-930.

FIGURE 1

CONCEPTUAL DIAGRAM OF STUDY HYPOTHESES


COMPLEXITY
CENTRALIZATION
FORMALITY
ACCESS
FUNCTION
DOMAIN
SCHOOL
COMPLEXITY
CENTRALIZATION
FORMALITY
ACCESS
FUNCTION
DOMAIN
RELOCATION
COOPERATIVE
RESPONSE
MOBILE CHILD

Methods of Testing

Data

In addition to drawing from organizational literature, information used in the study of relocation agency and elementary school characteristics in the four cities was obtained through conducting field interviews with personnel of both types of organizations. The interviews were designed to acquire information about the general structure and performance of each organization type. Data was acquired regarding the interactive and innovative capacity of each organization, too.

Information dealing with the general nature and extent of organizational relationships was sought, as was more particular information regarding school and relocation agency interaction. How the interviewees perceived their respective organizations to be responding to the mobile school child was also elicited. In essence, the data gathered was that which can provide answers to the questions this research seeks and within the conceptual framework provided.

Sample

The names of all those organizations formally providing some form of relocation assistance to families, individuals, and businesses displaced for public-improvement purposes in each of the four study cities were obtained. In most cases, relocation organizations were parts of larger "parent" organizations such as a city redevelopment agency. (See Table 1 on page 45.) For formal research purposes, a relocation organization is being defined here as that portion or division of the staff of any formally recognized aggregate which is daily occupied with the provision of relocation assistance and services.

Ten relocation organizations were identified in the four cities. However, in order for any to fully qualify for formal investigation, it had to possess at least six full-time staff members. Three failed to qualify since their size does not permit meaningful comparison with the larger, more enduring relocation organizations. Within these three, relocation activities were either carried out by one individual or represented only a minor portion of the total work duties of several staff members. Despite their smallness, these three organizations are referred to in portions of the discussion in Chapter V.

Table 1 presents the names of the ten relocation organizations, the parent organizations of which they are a part, and their city of operation. Asterisks denote the three organizations which did not meet the size requirements.

Elementary schools were chosen for study on a rather informal basis. Each school chosen had to meet the following criteria: (1) it had to have served a low income area within the city, and (2) it had to have been recently affected by relocation efforts due to location near a major public improvement project. An average of three elementary schools, meeting these criteria, were examined in each city; this roughly amounted to twenty-five per cent of the public elementary schools located in those sections of the four cities having the highest mobility. Although a more systematic sampling method would have been preferable, the difficulties and time involved in gaining access to schools and in penetrating their bureaucratic fortress negated such a consideration. Thus, the schools in which a principal personally consented to meet for an interview were the ones selected.

The focus on only two particular organization types (school and relocation) eliminate any potential methodological problems created by having to deal with a variety of structures and functions. Inclusion of more types of functional organizations would have greatly complicated both the methods used and the analysis of the results.

TABLE 1

IDENTIFICATION OF RELOCATION ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDED IN STUDY

Name	Parent Organization (if any)	City of Operation
*School Housing Division (Site Acquisition Department)	Board of Education	Detroit
*Relocation and Real Estate Officer	Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority	Cleveland
Division of Relocation and Property Management	(City) Department of Community Development	Cleveland
Central Relocation Office	Detroit Housing Commission	Detroit
Centralized Relocation	The Housing and Redevelopment Authority in and for the City of Minneapolis	Minneapolis
Real Estate Section (Acquisition and Relocation Assistance)	Milwaukee County Expressway and Transportation Commission	Milwaukee
*Land Acquisition (under county landscape architect)	Milwaukee County Park Commission	Milwaukee
Midtown Service Center	Milwaukee Department of City Development	Milwaukee
Right-of-Way Division (Relocation Assistance)	State Highway Department (District 12)	Cleveland
Therapy Services, Inc.	(under contract with Midtown Service Center)	Milwaukee

Instrument

The questionnaire was devised not only to obtain data regarding organizational structure and functioning, and relationships between the school and relocation agency, but also information about the special services provided to mobile children (See Appendix B, p. 267). Special attention was given during the construction of the questionnaire to the ordering of questions to avoid certain psychological effects on the interviewee which might bias particular questions. For example, questions having to do with organizational objectives were asked before the effects of moving on school children were ever mentioned. Although some questions appearing on the interview schedule were originally constructed by the author, most of the questions were taken either directly or in modified forms from those used in other research efforts.[38]

In addition, the interview schedule was designed so that it could be used in one of three ways. It could be administered to a director of an organization (using subsections "A" of the interview schedule). It could be administered to a staff member with modifications made in certain sets of questions asked (using subsection "B" of the interview schedule). Finally, it could be used for a partial interview with a director and a partial interview with a staff member, at the discretion of the director. In this third option, the director of the organization was asked to answer questions in response to the sections of the interview questionnaire which dealt with topics such as organizational history, objectives, structure, and functions. The director was told that one section of the interview included a number of questions dealing with relationships between the school and the relocation agency. He was asked if he preferred to answer these questions or if someone else in the organization was assigned to work with the school/relocation agency and would be better able to answer the questions.

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[38] Gerald Klonglan, et al., "Agency Interaction Patterns and Community Alcoholism Services," Social Report 73, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, January, 1969; and Michael Aiken and Jerald Hage, "The Relationship Between Organizational Factors and the Acceptance of New Rehabilitation Programs in Mental Retardation," Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1968. (Mimeographed.)

Most relocation directors did not choose this option and preferred to answer these questions themselves. One exception occurred in a city where the relocation organization contracts to a special social service agency; in this case, the relocation director referred the interviewer to the director of the social services group. Several school principals referred the interviewer to the school social worker.

The director of each relocation organization and the principal of each school was interviewed. The information provided by these interviewees is considered most important because these individuals are involved in the decision-making of their respective organizations, are most knowledgeable about the total operations of the organizations, and are most familiar with their organizational policies. In considering their responses, however, one must be aware of the potential pitfalls associated with relying too heavily on the views of directors. Directors may express views which are not held by members of their respective staffs, because it is quite possible that with different roles in an organizational hierarchy, views change.

Staff members were also interviewed, some through formal interview and others during informal conversations. Staff members were able to provide supplemental and more detailed information compared to that provided by the organizational directors, since the former were intimately involved in the everyday operations of achieving organizational objectives. In most cases, the staff members who were interviewed formally were designated by the director for interview or partial interview due to their ability to provide certain types of information which was thought to be useful for the study; the interview schedule was designed to allow for this circumstance.

All interviews were administered by the author in person. The same interview questionnaire was used for both school and relocation agency personnel. An attempt was made to complete interviews in a single city within a three or four day period in order to minimize possible discussions among organization personnel about the interviews.

Interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to three hours in length. Differences in length of interviews were largely attributable to respondents' differing degrees of interest in the study and their desire to verbalize at length on certain questions and issues. Generally, it was perceived by the interviewer that he was successful in receiving sufficient commitment from all the respondents to complete the interviews and obtain accurate responses. All respondents were extremely cooperative, although several gave an indication that they were hard pressed for time.

Analytical Approach

The analysis of information gained in this study will be in accordance with the analytical framework described earlier in this Chapter. It is the purpose of the study to attempt to gain insights into how two functionally-different organizations respond cooperatively to an individual with special problems. The analysis will deal with what Levine and White call the "total exchange situation" as it applies to the mobile school child. Four dimensions of this total exchange are the direction of exchange, the agreement underlying the exchange, the kinds and qualities of elements exchanged, and the characteristics of the organizations involved in the exchange.[39]

The interdependence between the two groups of organization-types will be measured by the kind and amount of interaction evident between them. Only that interorganizational collaboration which occurs directly between the two organizations will be examined. The dependent activity of interaction will be conceptualized and analyzed as a composite of various forms of exchange occurring between the schools and relocation organizations. Various forms in which exchange can occur are personnel acquaintance, advisory board meetings, committee meetings, referrals, and sharing of facilities.

The extent of interaction will be shown as a composite score based on all forms of interaction. The method by which this score is calculated can be found in Appendix C, p. 297. The ways in which the various features representing each organization's interactive and innovative capacity are related to the nature and extent of exchange will be discussed extensively.

An interpretive analysis is employed to show how interaction is related to separate organizational characteristics. In addition to drawing from literature, a statistical correlation analysis was used to show some of the relationships between observed variations in relocation organizational properties and interaction with the school. The particular statistical procedures used are explained more fully in Appendix D. Indices of various organizational properties have been compiled from information drawn from the interviews. A description of the construction of each measure is presented in Appendix D. Due to the difficulty in gaining access to schools, their selection was accidental-purposive in nature; therefore, it cannot be presupposed that data gathered from school interviews can be statistically treated in a manner appropriate to probability samples.[40]

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[39] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 597.

In Chapter V, both the school and relocation agency are examined as systems of interrelated properties. They each are compared as organizations composed of parts which make up a whole; the whole being much more than the sum of each's parts.

Drawing Implications from Findings

The analysis of organizational interaction is followed by a discussion of implications of the findings for changing and improving interorganizational relations, and in particular, creating a more cooperative response to the school child. Finally, by referring to the study findings, various ways the public planning function can be involved in affecting interorganizational relations are discussed.

Preliminary Investigation on Inner-City Pupil Mobility

Prior to undertaking the research into cooperative organizational response, a preliminary study was employed to gain information which would lend support to the premise upon which this project is based--that there exists some relationship between pupil mobility and educational performance. The importance of this research project is couched in the assumptions that (a) pupil transiency is relatively intense within the inner-city areas studied, and (b) that elementary school children are somehow affected when they change neighborhoods and schools within these areas. The section which follows describes the method used in acquiring information useful for this purpose.

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[40] Claire Selltiz, *et al.*, *Research Methods in Social Relations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964), pp. 516, 520-521.

Data

A review of literature and informative sources from each of the four cities indicates relatively high amounts of family residential mobility and resultant pupil mobility in the inner city. This information is presented in Chapter II.

In addition, a review of literature and empirical research was conducted in order to gain insight into the various effects of mobility on the child. The information was drawn from a variety of diverse academic and research journals, including those dealing with the fields of housing, the physical environment, psychology, orthopsychiatry, mental health, social work, sociology, education, and planning. The diversity of these sources is some indication of the wide variety of influences mobility can have on the child.

Data gained from the literature was supplemented by information gathered in the field through casual conversation with parents, school personnel, and relocation personnel in all four cities, but particularly from an exploratory survey conducted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The purpose of this survey was to acquire information about the experiences and attitudes of a group of low income families having elementary school children who had moved from one school district to another. The method of investigation was the personal interview survey, and it was conducted by staff interviewers of the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory.

Sample

The study unit for the Milwaukee survey was the family, although a portion of each interview was devoted to one particular child-member of the family. A non-probability purposive sample was used in selecting families.[41] The names and locations of families were provided by staff personnel of various social service groups who knew of families who had recently moved. Thirty families who had been forced to move were selected. These were screened in order to assure that all the families in the sample met three criteria: (1) that they had moved within Milwaukee within the eight months prior to the interview, (2) that at least one member of the family was a fifth or sixth grade student in the Milwaukee Public Schools, and (3) that the family met the low socio-economic requirements of the survey, which were based on the Warner Index of Status Characteristics. Twenty-six families met the above criteria and were selected for interview. Fifty per cent of the sample were categorized as Upper-Lower Class and the remaining half of the sample were Lower-Lower Class.[42]

Respondents representing twenty-two families were interviewed.

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 520-521.

[42] See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 121-159. Also see Appendix F, p. 323.

The two primary reasons for obtaining "no response" in four cases were the inability of the interviewer to locate a family (two had moved again to unknown locations) and absence from home despite repeated callbacks. In all cases, the respondent was the female head of the household and/or mother of the children in the family.

Instrument

The interview schedule included basic questions on family and housing characteristics and moving histories. Many of the questions were designed to elicit attitudes and perceptions of each respondent regarding family life in general, effects of moving on the family, and especially the effects of moving on the adjustment of school children. Thus, several open-ended questions were included in the questionnaire. (See Appendix E, p. 308.) Attention was given to any acknowledgement of a respondent having received special family services due to moving.

Although more information was accumulated in the Milwaukee survey than proved practical for use, many insights and personal experiences of the interviewees have been presented to provide concrete examples of how mobility affects children, as well as to supplement the information drawn from the literature in more human terms.

Analytical Approach

All of the information gained from the Milwaukee survey supplemented by information obtained via other sources--conversation interviews with parents, relocation personnel, and school personnel in other cities, and review of literature--was reviewed and analyzed for purposes of condensation. Together, these sources of information provide clues as to the problems and opportunities faced by children who move. They enable us to better understand how mobility and educational performance are related. The findings regarding the effects of mobility on the school child have been generally categorized according to three reference groupings: his family, his schools, and his peers. These findings are discussed in Chapter III. The following chapter discusses the intensity of residential and pupil mobility within inner-city areas.

CHAPTER II

MOBILITY IN THE SCHOOLS: A CONDITION OF THE INNER CITY

Geographic mobility is a fundamental pattern of the American life-style. The current dramatic trends of mobilization and suburbanization are strongly influenced by and related to broad patterns of population mobility and migration.[1] Recent figures indicate that for each year, one in every five Americans shifts his place of residence. After an initial examination of broad population mobility trends, it is the purpose of this chapter to focus on intra-city population mobility, the reasons behind its patterned occurrence, and the ways in which it affects pupil turnover within city schools.

Intra-Metropolitan Population Movements

A recent demographic report indicates that two-thirds of all the moves made by Americans are within the same county. This statistic has remained relatively stable through time, as Figure 2 shows.

Intra-state migrants, according to Census definition, are those who have moved to another county in the same state, while interstate migrants have moved to another state. Although the majority of moves are

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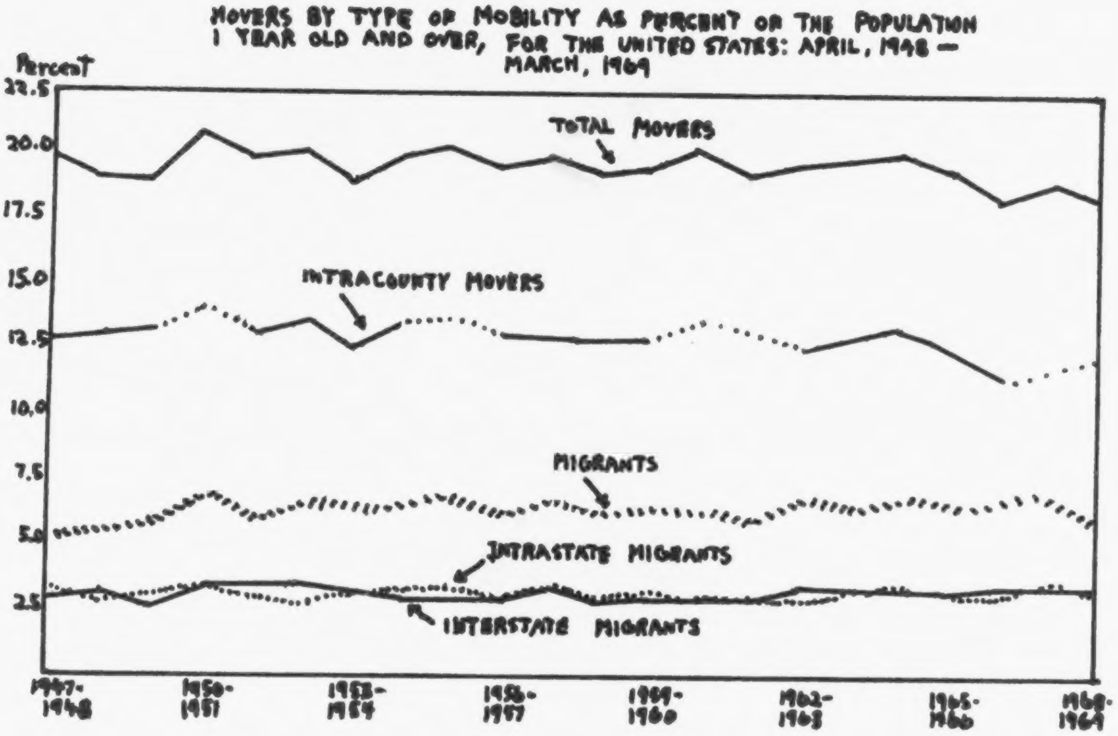
[1] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 14-17.

Figure 2



Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Mobility of the Population of the United States, March 1968 to March 1969, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 193 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1969).

short distance, within large metropolitan areas such moves can have important political, fiscal, and social significance. For the purposes of this study, it is important first to become familiar with some general trends of intra-metropolitan population movements. The most extensive source of mobility data is the U. S. Census, and one of the more exhaustive analyses of this information in terms of population movements inside metropolitan areas was compiled by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The Commission analyzes the mobility patterns of metropolitan populations in terms of three major groups: "movers, who shift their residential location from one part of the metropolitan area to the other (city to suburbs and vice versa); migrants, who enter the metropolitan area from another state; and migrants, into the metropolitan area from elsewhere in the same state."[2] This discussion will focus initially on the first group of movers.

The central city population of most metropolitan areas is more mobile than suburban populations. "The data reveal that, on the average, the rate at which people move around within the city still exceeds the combined rate of moving within and entry into the suburbs, by a moderate amount, and exceeds by a substantial differential the rate of shift from city to suburb alone."[3]

Table 2 provides a clearer picture of intra-metropolitan population movements within major sections of the country. The table shows the average proportions of persons five years old and over who moved within the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) between 1955 and 1960, according to their 1960 residence. The figures in parentheses show the proportion of those movers who came from the opposite metropolitan locations in the 101 SMSA's for which information is available.

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[2] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 153-159.

[3] Ibid., p. 154.

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF MOVERS WITHIN STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1960

	TOTAL POPULATION		NONWHITE	
	Central City	Suburb	Central City	Suburb
United States	34 (12)	32 (34)	40 (5)	29 (36)
Northeast	33 (12)	29 (27)	43 (5)	26 (26)
North Central	34 (10)	33 (40)	42 (3)	30 (49)
South	34 (10)	32 (35)	40 (5)	30 (32)
West	32 (19)	32 (35)	35 (11)	29 (38)

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Metropolitan Social and Economic Disparities: Implications for Intergovernmental Relations in Central Cities and Suburbs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 155.

For example, 34 percent of city residents within the North Central portion of the country moved within their respective metropolitan areas within the five year period, and 10 percent of these came from the suburbs. Also, only 3 percent of the 42 percentage of nonwhite movers within the central city came from the suburbs. The table indicates that intra-city mobility is high relative to other patterns of metropolitan population movement. In addition, the proportion of short moves for nonwhites within the city is substantially greater than that of the total population. Reasons for this high amount of intra-city mobility and the effects it may have on public school turnover rates are the subjects of discussion in the remainder of this chapter.

Determinants of Population Movements

It is necessary to review the factors which are considered by individuals and families when making the decision to move and also to place and discuss these factors in relation to the inner-city environment. Moving on the part of individuals and families is a part of a rational process, which is intimately associated with the changing needs and desires of the population and the setting within which such moves take place.[4] Those persons concerned with any aspect of the social, economic, and physical development of urban areas recognize the importance of understanding the forces which affect patterns of population mobility. Especially those recommending policies and courses of action, either from a broad comprehensive level or from within a more specialized institutional perspective, should familiarize themselves with this fundamental condition of the urban environment. Although any one family will probably base its decision to move on a mixture of factors, as opposed to any single one, several are presented here as more common reasons for moving: change in family life cycle; employment transfer or change; social aspirations; environmental factors; disruption of family membership; housing destruction; and decline in ability to pay. Each is described in the following discussion.

Family Life-Cycle Changes

One important reason for which families move is change in life cycle. When two persons marry, when a family increases its number of members, when children depart either temporarily for purposes such as college or permanently for marriage, or when the head of the household retires, there is a shift in housing requirements. All of these events represent changes in the family cycle of living which frequently demand different housing facilities and attendant shifts of residential location. With particular applicability to the concerns of this study, those families with an increase in the number of children will be prone to move, for as the number of children increases and as the children grow older, housing needs change. Space requirements change as well, and proximity to schools and activities might have to be taken into account. Many studies agree that residential mobility is greatest when families are experiencing their greatest growth.[5]

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[4] A good guide in locating sources which deal with this particular subject area is Robert E. Daniel, Local Residential Mobility: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography, Exchange Bibliography No. 104 (Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians, November, 1969).

Employment Transfer or Change

A familiar impetus for residential mobility is a transfer or change in jobs. In certain careers moving is essential to continued employment and advancement. For example, employees of large business corporations or manufacturing firms, or elected state or Federal governmental officials, will no doubt have to move in order to be rewarded with promotion or status enhancement that goes with a new position. Jobs on the managerial level may require moving also, though with little or no advancement. In addition, many unemployed and economically disadvantaged persons move with the hope of locating nearer to increased economic opportunities. Much of the urbanization and subsequent suburbanization of the national population can be attributed to this phenomenon of gravitation towards employment or increased employment opportunities. On the whole, in families where such occupational changes are occurring or desired, more thought will of course be given to moving than in those families where the breadwinner is occupationally more stable.

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[5] Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press,

Social Aspirations

Many persons move for purposes which are social in nature. For example, the location of relatives or friends may be an important factor influencing a move. Many persons will be reluctant to move away from a neighborhood in which strong social ties have developed, while on the other hand, where friends and/or relatives have moved to another location, these ties are weakened. Some moves can be the function of a desire for and commitment to achieve upward social mobility. Often particular residential locations, because of their social or physical facade, are perceived as means of increasing one's status merely by association. Social characteristics can also create negative impressions of neighborhoods; thus trends such as a changing racial, age-group, or other social mix can stimulate exoduses by some from particular residential areas. The consideration of social factors in moving decisions will almost always be inextricably tied to considerations of environmental variables as well, and attenuated or reinforced by them.[6]

1955), pp. 9, 178.

[6] See such sources as: Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 140-148; Marc Fried and Peggy Gleicher, "Some Sources of Residential Satisfaction in an Urban Slum," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV (February, 1959), 15-25; Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press, 1963); and Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1968).

Environmental Aspirations

Many moves are made in response to aspirations to locate in areas with special or distinctive environmental features. Such moves may conform to personal preferences regarding distance from various community facilities, shopping areas, public transportation, or parks. The condition of housing can be another strong reason for moving, as can special natural assets, climate, or unique neighborhood features of a community.[7]

Family Membership Disruption

Some moves are necessitated by family disruption following death, separation, or divorce. The sudden removal of a family head can place great strain on the remaining members especially if they are of low economic status. Most middle and upper income families are prepared to meet such periods of sudden change which demand financial security due to the ownership of various insurance policies, presence of emergency funds, advance planning and budgeting, and greater familiarity with legal affairs in general. Low income families are less likely to have these means to help them through periods of transition since they are consistently more concerned and involved with short-term economic survival than with saving and long-range security.[8] Thus the quick disruption of a low-income family membership is prone to require speedy and possibly uncomfortable adjustment to reduce financial hardship, and this adjustment may include moving into less costly housing.

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[7] Barrie Greenbie, "New House or New Neighborhood? A Survey of Priorities Among Home Owners in Madison, Wisconsin," Land Economics, XLV (August, 1969), 359-365.

[8] Lola Irelan, ed., Low Income Life Styles (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

Housing Destruction

Some families move due to the reception of advance notice indicating that their dwellings will be demolished for purposes of satisfying local community codes and ordinances or making way for public improvements or private development. Housing considered to be in substandard and dilapidated condition may be declared unfit for human habitation and considered beyond repair. When such housing is in so poor a condition that it is uneconomical to repair and rehabilitate, it is usually destroyed in order to enforce local health or housing codes. Also, through the legal process of exercising the right of eminent domain, governments can demolish housing and other buildings on the acquired sites so that public works projects can be built, such as public housing, urban renewal projects, highways, parks, and universities. Private development occurring near the centers of large metropolitan areas, especially that of office buildings, necessitates much housing demolition. Housing can also be destroyed by fire, civil disturbance, or natural disaster. With the exception of natural disaster, there is a greater propensity for family residential mobility to occur within the central city for the above reasons than in other portions of a metropolitan area, for it is the central city which currently has distinctly inferior living conditions and which demands the greatest input of capital improvements projects.[9] Table 3 on page 65 indicates the number of living units demolished in the City of Milwaukee over a five-year period and indicates the purpose for demolition.[10]

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[9] National Commission on Urban Problems, Report of the Commission to the Congress and the President of the United States, Building the

Declining Ability to Pay

Especially in the case of low income families, there is an additional reason for which moving may be necessary: an inability to maintain an established style of life with attendant housing due to declining ability to pay. A family seeking to finance a mortgage while at the same time suffering from a gradual reduction in income of available finances will most likely have to abandon any thoughts of home ownership and move to less costly housing. Renters with a declining ability to pay usually move voluntarily, although many times they may do so secretively in order to escape due payments or avoid further payments. Some families in such a situation may be evicted by a landlord or legal action. Although the need to move due to a declining ability to pay may occur within any income group, especially during an inflationary period, it is the low incomer who is less likely to have emergency resources available, to have any helpful influential social contacts, or to be at all cognizant of the legal options available to him. Therefore, in areas where there are relatively high proportions of lower income residents, many people in such a situation move with

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American City (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968). See especially pp. 80-93, 152-169.

[10] For further information regarding the number of families displaced from their homes for public purposes, see: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Relocation: Unequal Treatment of People and Businesses; and Groberg, Centralized Relocation.

TABLE 3

LIVING UNITS DEMOLISHED IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 1964-1968

	Number of Units Demolished					
Purpose	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Total
Public Purposes						
City						
Urban Renewal	389	61	205	517	1078	2,806
Code Enforcement	225	152	302	446	379	2,203
Public Housing	248	140		26		615
Other[a]	240	255	109	138	190	1,577
Total City	1102	608	616	1127	1647	7,201
% of Total	42	36	31	48	72	44
County						
Expressways	999	542	806	603	333	5,096
Parks & Parkways	13	13	29	43	26	171
Other[b]						
Total County	1012	555	835	646	359	5,269
% of Total	39	33	42	27	16	32
Federal						
% of Total						
Private Purposes	492	529	531	589	294	4,070
% of Total	19	31	27	25	12	24
Total	2602	1692	1982	2362	2300	16,544

Source: Department of Building Inspection and Safety Engineering Records, City of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[a] Schools, playgrounds, street widenings, civic center, libraries, fire stations, police stations, etc.

[b] Airports, etc.

seemingly little thought, due to ignorance of their rights, fear of the repercussions of resistance, and desire to survive.

* * * * *

This review of common determinants of residential mobility can be used to explain the relative excess of residential mobility in the inner city. It is true that any of the determinants described, at any one time and in any one case, may serve as a major reason for a family to move, whether that family lives in the central city, suburbs, or a rural region. On the other hand, the proportion of moves determined by one reason (or particular combination of reasons) may be different depending on the setting within which the moves occur.

Determinants of Mobility in the Inner City

When the various determinants for moving are viewed in the inner city context, there is further evidence of the reasons for greater residential mobility there. Particular family characteristics, economic status of the population, and physical condition of housing are all related to higher propensity to move. Larger families, high proportions of whom live in the inner city, will experience more life-cycle changes than small families; unemployment or menial employment is coupled with job instability, which increases the propensity for job turnover and possible residential mobility; lower income or working class persons place greater emphasis on residing near departed friends and relatives; and the gradual physical deterioration of the central city, especially its housing, may encourage residents in such units to look for something better.

Furthermore, due to the economic level of many city families, moves as a result of death, divorce or separation, or a declining ability to pay are likely to occur. Also, a combination of dilapidated condition, low property maintenance and personal negligence contributes to a great number of potential fire hazards and consequent housing destruction. Finally, the problems and needs associated with the development of the center of a growing metropolitan area demand a substantial capital improvements program. Whether for schools, parking lots, street widening, or more expansive projects, a greater number of families are displaced from their homes in central portions of urban areas as compared to the metropolitan periphery because of both the high amount of capital improvements scheduled and the higher densities of existing residential uses within cities. The amount of residential mobility within inner cities is intricately related to the social, economic and physical conditions of its environment.

Inner-City Population Movements: Forced or Voluntary?

An important issue in studying inner-city population mobility is that of whether mobility is a cause or an effect of predominant family traits. Definitive research has not yet been done on whether low economic status generates mobility or whether high mobility has an adverse effect in the short run on economic status. The problems of clarifying these relationships stem primarily from the difficulties involved in distinguishing voluntary moves from involuntary moves. If persons move voluntarily, meaning that the motivation and decision to move is entirely their own, then mobility may be the cause for increased problems and hardships among low income families. On the other hand, if persons move involuntarily and the decision to move was largely outside of their control, mobility may be a particular symptom of the low income life style.

The difficulties of determining the proportion of "forced" and "desired" moves among the urban economically disadvantaged are monumental. They stem from methodological issues associated with the availability of information, the utility and comparativeness of available data, definitional problems, perceptions of families, selection of survey research samples, and reliance on individual recall. For these reasons, the end products of previous attempts at conceptualizing forced mobility are of little value here.[11] The following section gives brief attention to these issues.

The Comparability and Irregularities of Data

In most large cities little data exists regarding the major determinants of intra-area population mobility. In 1960, the U. S. Bureau of the Census compiled mobility statistics. These data, however, were not supplemented by information concerning mobility determinants.[12] The same is true in the case of the annual mobility reports published for the United States by the Census Bureau.[13] The Census did publish a report in 1966, entitled Reasons for Moving: March 1962 to March 1963, which compared the major differences between intra-county movers and those who moved between counties with respect to the distribution of type of reason. One of the more salient findings was that 65 percent of the migrants moved for job-related reasons while approximately 62 percent of intra-county movers attributed their moves to reasons related to housing--a desire for better housing, discontent with housing or neighborhood prior to the move, or being forced to move.[14] Table 4 shows these findings. The major deficiency of this Census report for the purposes of this study, however, is that it does not distinguish at all between urban and non-urban movers, although it does distinguish between local and non-local movers. It is difficult, if not impossible, to get a close approximation of the distribution of reasons for intra-city mobility. In other studies, such as that by Lansing and Mueller, data having to do with the distribution of reasons for moving are presented for metropolitan populations, but without any breakdown.[15] Since this study is primarily focused on assessing mobility in particular sub-areas of the central city, these data are not useful.

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[11] For example, see William Peterson, "A General Typology of Migration," American Sociological Review, XXIII (June, 1958), 256-266.

[12] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

[13] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Mobility of the Population of the United States, March 1962 to March 1969, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, Nos. 134, 141, 150, 156, 171, 188, and 193 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963-1970).

Several cities, at the time of this study, were carrying out special mobility analyses of their respective central city areas. These studies were of a statistical nature, although their subsequent phases will include more in-depth analysis regarding rationale for moving and

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[14] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Reasons for Moving, March 1962 to March 1963, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 154 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 1.

[15] John B. Lansing and Eva Mueller, Residential Location and Urban Mobility (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, 1964).

TABLE 4

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE MOVERS 18 TO 64 YEARS OLD, BY REASON FOR MOVE, TYPE OF MOBILITY, AND AGE: MARCH 1963

Type of mobility and age	All reasons	Job-related reasons	Housing	Change in marital status or move with family	Other reasons and not reported
LOCAL (INTRACOUNTY) MOVERS					
Total, 18 to 64 yrs. .	100.0	12.4	61.9	18.2	7.7
18 to 24 years.	100.0	8.8	48.0	36.1	7.3
25 to 44 years.	100.0	13.5	67.0	12.6	6.9
45 to 64 years.	100.0	13.7	65.1	11.4	10.1
MIGRANTS					
Total, 18 to 64 yrs. .	100.0	65.0	10.3	13.6	11.3
18 to 24 years.	100.0	60.6	6.2	24.0	9.7
25 to 44 years.	100.0	70.6	12.0	8.1	9.6
45 to 64 years.	100.0	55.5	11.9	13.5	19.0

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Reasons for Moving, March 1962 to March 1963, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 154 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 2.

choice of new housing. The findings of these studies will eventually be able to be compared cross-sectionally among various areas within the city.[16]

Many agencies and groups have available information which indicates determinants of mobility, but such information is scattered, spotty and many times superficial. For example, city building and safety inspectors may have lists of all dwelling units demolished by the government within a particular time period and for any purpose. Such data usually exist in terms of number and type of structures. City planning departments or redevelopment authorities may also have information on the number of families displaced due to ongoing public improvement projects. Although such information is valuable, it is difficult to compare, for example, with that of the building inspector due to the discrepancies between criteria used and the fact that the data overlap. In addition, some data are presented on a city-wide base, some are presented by political wards, some by Census tracts, and some by arbitrarily established "sub-communities" which makes any comparison of information impossible. Other data which could be utilized in analyzing mobility patterns are gathered by agencies and groups such as law enforcement agencies, taxation departments, realtors, property owners, and state and Federal agencies, as well. Thus the procedure of analyzing and establishing the proportion of various major determinants of family mobility within the central cities is nearly an impossible task due to the difficulties of comparison, irregularities, or lack of available data.

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[16] For example, one special enumeration in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was being carried out by R. L. Polk and Company.

Individual Perceptions as Complicating Factors

Even if comparable data were available, they would be open to much question and criticism if used as a means of separating involuntary moves from voluntary moves. Several determinants of mobility, based on information provided by the above-mentioned sources, would point to involuntary moves; such determinants include displacement of a family due to their location in the path of a proposed freeway, inability to remain in housing for financial reasons, or the eviction of persons from an apartment by a landlord.

On the surface, this type of mobility determinant indicates that a family is "forced" to move, because the decision to move was largely beyond their control or determined by someone else. In reality, however, the cause of a move, in terms of whether it was "forced" or "desired," may be perceived very differently by each and every mobile family largely due to the family's unique life situation at the time of the move and the prior attitudes of the family about moving. For instance, a notice to one family saying that they must relocate to make way for a parking lot may be perceived as a fortuitous circumstance, especially if that family had been thinking about moving prior to receiving the notice. In such a case the actual reception of the notice, occurring when a family has been considering moving for some period of time, is perceived as an event which "triggers" the decision to make the "desired" move.

On the other hand, if another family receives the same notice, the resultant move may be regarded as forced upon them, especially if the family is well settled, has not considered the possibility of moving, has established close social ties within the neighborhood, and generally appreciates its living situation. To such a family, who would not be ready for a move and would have little time to prepare and to decide on a new location, the notice would probably be accepted less readily. Thus the perception of the move as "forced" or "desired" is highly dependent upon the family's feeling regarding the circumstances surrounding the move and their motivation to move.

Survey Research Problems

Survey research methods are useful in obtaining information indicating whether families feel their move was voluntary or involuntary. Unfortunately, such surveys are difficult to design for several reasons. In the first place, major problems arise in choosing a population from which a sample of mobile persons may be selected. There is no central data bank with information on mobile families. Agencies such as the post office, public schools, relocation offices, community service groups, gas and electric companies, telephone companies, and realtors and landlords can be helpful in locating persons who have recently moved; these groups, however, take the usual precautions in order to protect the privacy of their clients and consumers, a practice which makes gaining access to such information for the researcher an extremely trying, time-consuming and frustrating experience. The fact that families and individuals move at different times further complicates the process of selecting a research sample.

There can be other difficulties inherent in relying on the recall of a family respondent in interview. Feelings about whether a move was voluntary or not may have been modified between the time of moving and the interview, because of a post-move attitude involving satisfaction or dissatisfaction related to the new house and neighborhood. In addition, the U. S. Census states that:

> The distribution of responses to questions on reasons for moving is in part determined by the format and content of the inquiry, and the reduction of the circumstances in which a move takes place to a single reason may lead to considerable variability in response. In short, brief inquiries on reasons for moving do not necessarily produce a definitive catalogue of the causes of mobility, although they do provide some useful insights.[17]

In the preceding discussion, a number of major determinants of city population mobility have been reviewed. Some difficulties involved in attempting to ascertain in a systematic fashion the distribution of reasons for moving have also been described.

There are several general observations which may serve as capsules to the previous discussion. It seems that the decision to move, although possibly "triggered" by one determining factor, is actually the culmination of a mixture of influences having to do with life cycle changes, status aspirations, location of employment, social ties, environmental goals, public policy decisions, and especially available financial resources. In addition, there is probably no hard and fast rule determining whether moves are forced or voluntary; that is, capable of classifying reasons at one extreme or the other. Rather, the perception of autonomy in a decision to move is conditioned by a combination of factors: the nature of the major determinant, the particular living situation of the family at the time of moving, the environment within which the move takes place, and the motivation to move.

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[17] Bureau of the Census, Reasons for Moving, March 1962 to March 1963, pp. 1-4.

Instead of classifying a residential move as either voluntary or involuntary, it seems more realistic to define it in terms of the relative degree of independence associated with making the decision to move. The cause and effect relationships between urban residential mobility and economic status are not distinct at the present time; however, based on the characteristics of inner-city families as seen in relation to the determinants of residential mobility, it is fair to assume that fewer economically disadvantaged urban families have an opportunity to make independent decisions to move. Generally, they have less control over the determinants of mobility and less financial, intellectual, and psychological ability to ignore them. Such families must consider moving more often.[18]

Mobility Constraints

The determinants of population mobility per se have little bearing on where or what distance a low income family will move. There are other factors which influence the aggregate mobility patterns of inner-city residents. These factors actually act as mobility constraints which limit the opportunity for a family of lower socioeconomic status to move anywhere within a metropolitan area other than the inner city. Nonwhites are restrained for additional reasons. These constraints are inherent in conditions of the housing market, attitudes and beliefs of various segments of the population, and policies supported by institutions in most major metropolitan areas.

Probably the most important condition affecting a low income family is the shortage of decent, safe, and sanitary low-cost housing. The failure of the private housing market to produce housing at rentals or prices which most low and moderate income families can afford has created a situation where most housing available to such families is substandard, old, and possibly overcrowded. Most low-cost housing is located in the physically deteriorating centers of metropolitan areas. In addition, most government subsidized housing programs which make available decent housing at relatively low cost have been actualized within the inner-city areas, as opposed to other portions of metropolitan areas. Such policies, supported and carried out by Federal, state, and local housing authorities, have tended to keep low income residents within the central city. The location of low income housing in outer sections of metropolitan areas has been thwarted frequently by the use of exclusionary zoning powers (large lot zoning, etc.) by most suburbs which find it undesirable to attract high tax consumers to locate within their boundaries.

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[18] Irelan, Low-Income Life Styles, pp. 1-12.

Although metropolitan families who are economically disadvantaged are primarily restricted to central city residential locations for the above reasons, nonwhite movers experience added constraints. Racially discriminatory practices of many realtors, landlords, and suburban communities represent added forces which perpetuate the restriction of nonwhites to intra-city moves. For social-psychological reasons, it may be becoming more and more attractive for the nonwhite to remain in the central cities. The threat of an uncomfortable living situation in suburban areas due to potential hazards of racially directed violence or isolation, the growing identification with the inner-city community and involvement in its affairs, and the approaching attainment of a nonwhite majority with political clout, especially in the major northern cities, all are likely to have a cohesive influence on low income nonwhite central city residents.[19]

The above-mentioned pressures and incentives tend to encourage the lower income inner-city family to remain in the city if a move is necessary, the consequence being a relatively large number of short-distance moves within inner-city areas. The actual effects of this mobility on the success of inner-city schools is difficult to determine.

The intensity of residential mobility in the inner city is reflected in an examination of pupil turnover rates in inner-city schools of large cities; this indicates the statistical effects of mobility on these schools. Furthermore, the data can serve to point out the variations in mobility occurring within different sections of the same city. The section which follows gives attention to the amounts of mobility affecting schools serving the more disadvantaged sub-areas of large cities.

Mobility in the Schools

The only data which show varying amounts of pupil mobility among urban schools is available through the administrative office of each individual city school system. The inner-city public elementary schools of each city studied, exhibit a significantly higher amount of pupil mobility than do schools in remaining portions of the central city.[20]

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[19] Two U. S. Department of Commerce news releases indicate continued migration of nonwhite residents into central cities and migration from southern states to northeastern and north central states. See: News Release, "Negro Population Movement into Suburbs during 1960-70 Overshadowed by White Exodus from Central Cities, 1970 Census Shows," February 10, 1971, p. 1; and News Release, "Whites Account for Reversal of South's Historic Population Loss through Migration, Census Shows," March 3, 1971, pp. 2-3.

Since each school system compiles the data separately and uses slightly different criteria to measure pupil turnover, it is difficult to compare pupil mobility data cross-sectionally.[21] The information obtained, however, indicates that nearly all those elementary schools operating within economically depressed areas of the study cities possess high pupil turnover.

The data gathered do not show what proportion of pupil mobility is caused by or related to family displacement due to projects such as the construction of highways, urban renewal, and/or code enforcement programs. Despite this limitation, however, those schools analyzed in this study are located near ongoing or recently completed public improvement projects. Their proximity to the projects, as well as the features of the tight housing market and racial makeup of the population which surrounds them, suggests that they are seriously affected by the displacement of families from construction sites. Each school principal and social worker interviewed attested to this condition, despite the absence of more objective data. More discussion of how mobility affects the operation of the school will be presented in the next chapter. The final portion of this chapter presents some of the pupil mobility data gathered in the four study cities.

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[20] Schools in Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[21] It is suggested that the reader refer to Appendix A in order to become familiar with the various ways in which the different school systems computed "mobility rates." See p. 264.

Minneapolis

The Minneapolis schools have the most data available on pupil mobility.[22] In one study in which pupil mobility was examined for the one-year period from the close of school in June, 1967, to the close of school in June, 1968, it was shown that "large numbers of pupils moved into the school system, an even larger number left the school system, and many more moved from one school to another."[23] The analysis states that

> The number of pupils who moved while school was in session was surprisingly large. The amount of movement varied greatly among various sections of the city. A comparison of four elementary schools located in a low mobility neighborhood illustrates the great differences among schools.
>
> Adams, Clinton, Greeley, and Irving are elementary schools in an area of high mobility. Within the 1967-68 school year the pupil movement in and out of these schools was as follows:

TOTAL MOVEMENT OUT OF ADAMS,
CLINTON, GREELEY, AND IRVING
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

To Minneapolis public schools.	637
To other schools in Minneapolis.	31
To schools in the metropolitan area. . . .	70
To other Minnesota schools	73
To out-of-state schools.	62
Unclassified	23
	896

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[22] In 1965 and 1966, the Economic Opportunity Committee of Hennepin County published a three-part report entitled Student Mobility in Selected Minneapolis Public Schools: 1) R. W. Faunce, Donald D. Bevis, and Bonnie J. Murton, "Mobility of Elementary School Children in High and Low Delinquency Areas"; 2) R. W. Faunce and Bonnie J. Murton, "Factors Associated with Differing Degrees of Student Mobility"; and 3) R. W. Faunce and Bonnie J. Murton, "Patterns of Student Mobility."

[23] Otto E. Domian, et al., A New Educational Thrust: A Recommended School Plant Program for Minneapolis (Minneapolis: School Facilities Study Staff, Special School District No. 1, 1969), p. 31.

TOTAL MOVEMENT INTO THE ADAMS, CLINTON, GREELEY, AND IRVING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

From Minneapolis public schools	572
From other schools in Minneapolis	29
From schools in the metropolitan area	67
From other Minnesota schools	100
From out-of-state schools	129
Unclassified	38
	935

These four schools had a combined enrollment of 2,228. During the school year, 896 pupils moved out of the schools and 935 pupils moved into the schools. Thus a total of 1,831 pupils moved in or out of these four schools, a number which is 82.1 per cent of the schools' enrollments. Most of the pupil movement, 1,209 of the 1,831 or 66.0 percent, is to or from other schools in the Minneapolis School System. Twice as many pupils entered these four schools from outside Minnesota as left them to move out of the state.

The pupil movement in four other elementary schools, located in another section of the city, presents a sharply different pattern. A much more limited pupil movement was experienced at the Keewaydin, Minnehaha, Morris Park, and Wenonah schools, located in southeastern Minneapolis, as indicated in the following tabulation:

TOTAL MOVEMENT OUT OF KEEWAYDIN, MINNEHAHA, MORRIS PARK, AND WENONAH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

To Minneapolis public schools	65
To other schools in Minneapolis	2
To schools in the metropolitan area	53
To other Minnesota schools	21
To out-of-state schools	38
Unclassified	10
	189

TOTAL MOVEMENT INTO THE KEEWAYDIN, MINNEHAHA, MORRIS PARK, AND WENONAH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

From Minneapolis public schools	91
From other schools in Minneapolis	16
From schools in the metropolitan area	50
From other Minnesota schools	19
From out-of-state schools	76
Unclassified	7
	259 [24]

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

Figure 3 on page 82 shows the varying amounts of pupil mobility occurring among each group of schools. A substantial amount of the pupil mobility in the Adams-Clinton-Greeley-Irving area consists of pupils moving to a neighboring school.

Figure 4 designates the mobility rates for all elementary schools within the Minneapolis system. The core area, which is the area outlined by the Minneapolis Public Schools system as "racially unbalanced" (20 percent or more nonwhite enrollment), has those schools with the greatest mobility rates.[25]

A social worker from a school located near both recently completed and ongoing redevelopment projects in the near north section of Minneapolis provided more recent mobility data for her school. These data are shown in Table 5.

Detroit

Selected data from schools in other city school systems tell the same story. For example, the mobility rates for some schools in an inner-city constellation of schools in Detroit called Murray-Wright are shown in Table 6. The mobility rates for these schools are compared with the composite mobility rate for all Detroit elementary schools.

Cleveland

In Cleveland, nineteen of the twenty "most mobile" elementary schools in 1968-69 were located in the inner, lower income areas of the city. (See Table 7.) Some schools located in or near large scale public improvement projects requiring family displacement are marked with

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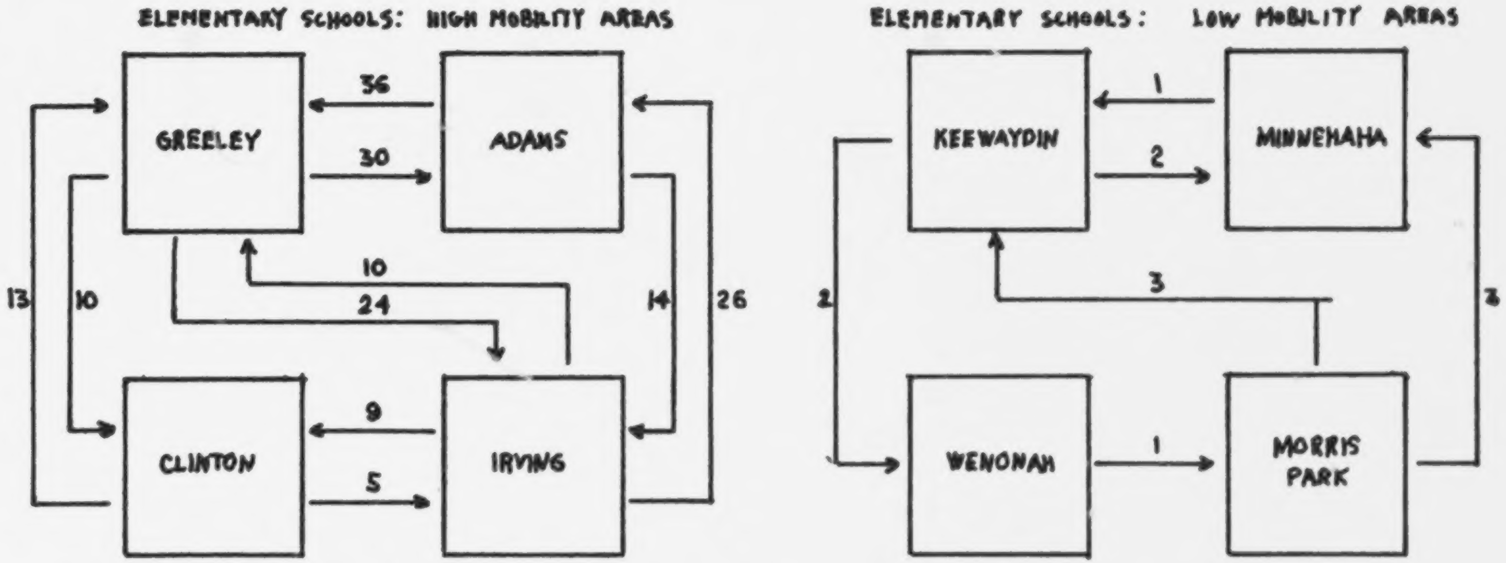
[25] Ibid., p. 20.

Figure 3

PUPIL MOVEMENT DURING THE 1967-68 SCHOOL YEAR AMONG ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS LOCATED IN HIGH MOBILITY AND LOW MOBILITY AREAS MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

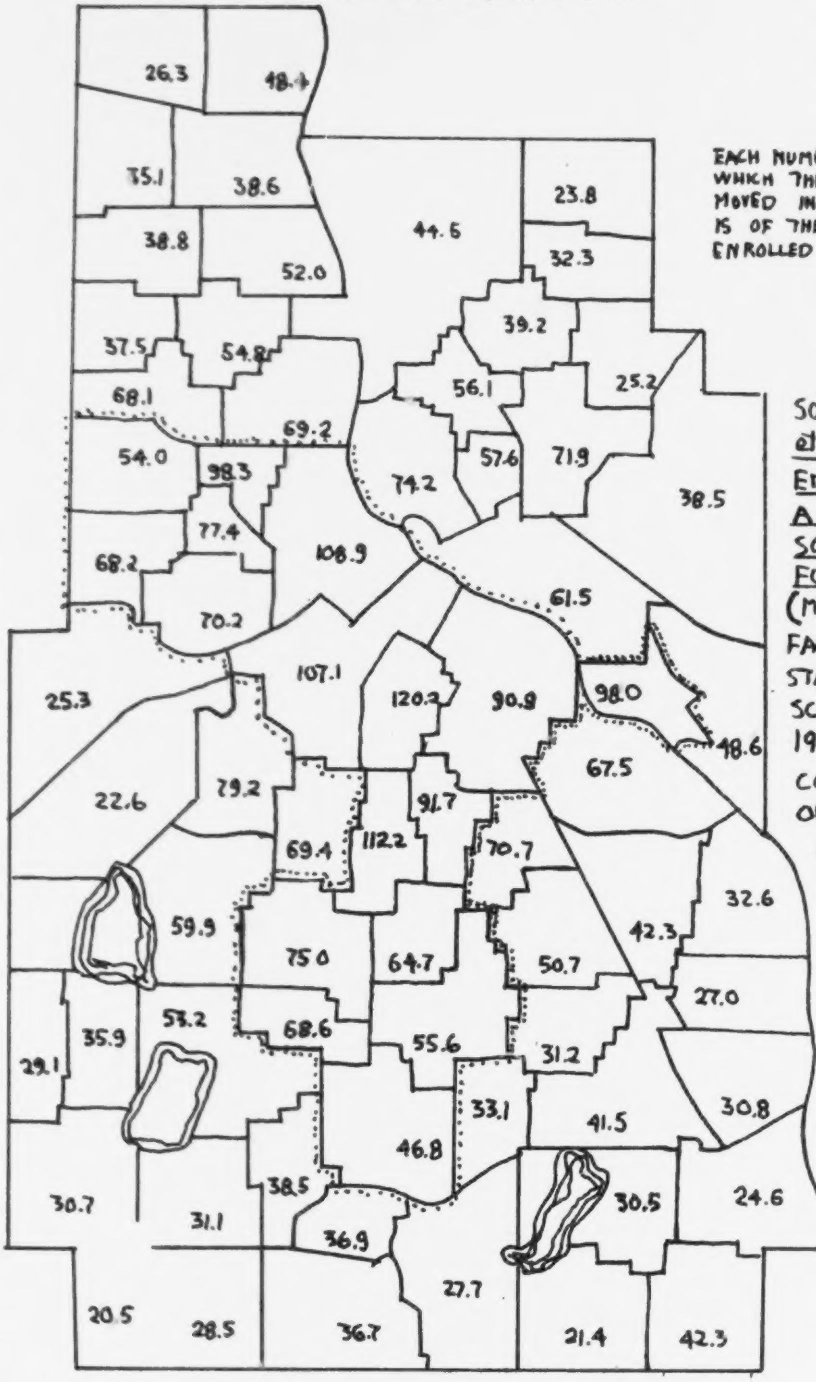

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: HIGH MOBILITY AREAS
GREELEY
ADAMS
CLINTON
IRVING
36
30
10
24
9
5
13
10
14
26
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: LOW MOBILITY AREAS
KEEWAYDIN
MINNEHAHA
WENONAH
MORRIS PARK
1
2
3
1
2
2

THE NUMBERS INDICATE THE PUPILS WHO MOVED FROM ONE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TO A NEIGHBORING SCHOOL WITHIN THE SCHOOL YEAR.

SOURCE: OTTO E. DOMIAN, *et. al.*, *A NEW EDUCATIONAL THRUST; A RECOMMENDED SCHOOL PLANT PROGRAM FOR MINNEAPOLIS* (MINNEAPOLIS: SCHOOL FACILITIES STUDY STAFF, SPECIAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1, 1969), p. 34.

FIGURE 4

ELEMENTARY PUPIL MOVEMENT FROM THE CLOSE OF SCHOOL IN JUNE 1967 TO THE CLOSE OF SCHOOL IN JUNE 1968, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA


26.3
48.4
35.1
38.6
44.6
23.8
38.8
52.0
32.3
39.2
37.5
54.8
56.1
25.2
68.1
69.2
54.0
98.3
74.2
57.6
71.9
38.5
77.4
68.2
108.9
61.5
70.2
25.3
107.1
120.2
90.8
98.0
48.6
67.5
22.6
79.2
91.7
69.4
112.2
70.7
32.6
59.9
75.0
64.7
50.7
42.3
27.0
29.1
35.9
53.2
68.6
55.6
31.2
30.8
33.1
41.5
46.8
38.5
30.7
31.1
36.9
30.5
24.6
20.5
28.5
36.7
27.7
21.4
42.3

EACH NUMBER IS THE PER CENT WHICH THE NUMBER OF PUPILS WHO MOVED IN OR OUT OF THE SCHOOL IS OF THE NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE SCHOOL.

SOURCE: OTTO E. DOMIAN, *et.al*, *A NEW EDUCATIONAL THRUST: A RECOMMENDED SCHOOL PLANT PROGRAM FOR MINNEAPOLIS* (MINNEAPOLIS: SCHOOL FACILITIES STUDY STAFF, SPECIAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1, 1969), p. 32. THE CORE AREA WAS OUTLINED BY THE AUTHOR.

TABLE 5

PUPIL TURNOVER AT JOHN HAY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 5, 1969--MAY 7, 1970[a]

	Children Entering	Children Withdrawn
Minneapolis School District	112	123
Within Pyramid[b]	64	80[c]
Outside	48	43
Within State of Minnesota	20	33
Out-of-State	73	
TOTAL	205[d]	156[e]

[a] Total enrollment of the school was 720 pupils on May 7, 1970.

[b] A pyramid is a cluster of schools in the same section of the city.

[c] Of those 80 pupils withdrawn from Hay and enrolling in other schools within the same pyramid, 79 enrolled in three school districts with boundaries contiguous with that of Hay.

[d] A total of 107 families with 205 children entered the school district during the period.

[e] A total of 91 families with 156 children withdrew from the school district during the period.

TABLE 6

MOBILITY RATES FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE MURRAY-WRIGHT CONSTELLATION OF DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1968-69

SCHOOL NAME	Mobility Rate with Semester Promotions & Organizational Changes Deducted[a]	Enrollment	Mobility Rate Figured Without Deductions (Based on All Transfers)
Burton	109.7%	(514)	114.6%
Couzens	30.6	(705)	36.7
Edmonson	60.6	(1757)	65.2
Franklin	65.2	(1015)	71.2
Irving	112.7	(102)	114.7
Total for all elementary schools (10) in Murray-Wright constellation	64.2	(6832)	69.4
Total for all elementary schools in Detroit system	36.5	(175,224)	43.4

[a] See Appendix A.

Source: Detroit Board of Education, Department of Administrative and Statistical Reporting, Pupil Movement Reports (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1969), pp. 58-85. (Mimeographed.)

TABLE 7

MOBILITY IN CLEVELAND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1968 - 1969
(Rank Order)

School	Average Daily Enrollment	Transfers In & Out	Entries & Withdrawals	Mobility Rate
Wm. H. McGuffey	253	235	95	130%
Lake	130	89	64	118
Dunham	1,115	1,034	121	104
Fruitland	322	160	171	103
Gordon*	472	302	181	102
Mary B. Martin*	792	706	98	102
Mt. Auburn	423	268	163	102
Paul L. Dunbar	526	315	216	101
Case	333	162	171	100
Kentucky	912	529	379	100
Sackett	831	551	269	99
Orchard	1,059	653	382	98
Waverly*	909	477	385	95
Dike	233	176	44	94
Mill	409	261	118	93
Stanard	452	313	104	92
Scranton	468	280	145	91
Hodge	688	389	228	90
Charles Orr	408	300	61	88
Crispus Attucks*	797	617	79	87

Source: Rose M. Cira and Joseph L. Mazur, Cleveland Public Schools Mobility Report, 1968-1969 (Cleveland: Cleveland Public Schools Division of Research and Development, 1969), p. 5. (Mimeographed.)

an asterisk. The mean of their mobility rates is compared with that for all elementary schools in Cleveland.

Milwaukee

The Milwaukee Public Schools compute a "mobility index" for each school.[26] Those schools designated as "core area" schools by the school system, together with their mobility indices, are shown in Table 8.

* * * * *

Although the particular distribution of causes for mobility are difficult to determine, the previous section has shown that the amount of mobility affecting the inner-city schools is intense. Furthermore, according to available data, each of the four study cities experiences variations in pupil mobility among its schools. The patterns are similar, however, with higher amounts of pupil turnover evidenced in schools located nearer the center of the city and serving a relatively economically disadvantaged population.[27] In most cases, that population is predominantly nonwhite. The mere amount of pupil mobility can drastically affect a school's (and other public institutions') efforts

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[26] The mobility index for each Milwaukee school is calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Mobility index} = \frac{\text{(admissions through year) + (discharges through year)}}{\text{(September entrants)}}$$

See Appendix A, p. 264.

[27] In another study of elementary schools in a large midwestern city, Patricia Sexton showed that pupil turnover rates were related to the family income in the school area. (Patricia C. Sexton, "Social Class and Pupil Turnover Rates," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (1959), 131-134.)

TABLE 8

MOBILITY RATES IN CORE AREA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, 1968 - 1969

SCHOOL NAME	Mobility Rate
Buer Avenue	50.1%
Berger	50.8
Brown Street	48.2
Cass Street	48.9
Clarke Street	48.1
Elm	60.4
Fifth Street	43.7
Fourth Street	40.5
Garfield Avenue	52.0
Holmes	47.0
Hopkins Street	39.4
Keefe Avenue	29.8
Lee	41.0
Lloyd Street	45.6
MacDowell	61.8
McKinley	53.3
Meincke	50.5
Ninth Street	25.4
Palmer	41.8
Pierce	40.4
Siefert	56.3
Twelfth Street	34.6
Twentieth Street	37.1
Twenty-first Street	45.8
Twenty-seventh Street	45.5
Walnut Street	50.5
Total for all elementary schools in core area	45.7
Total for all elementary schools in Milwaukee system	28.1

Source: Milwaukee Public Schools, "Mobility Report, 1968-1969." (Mimeographed.)

to attain the objectives of its total program(s); the next chapter will focus specifically on the ways in which mobility affects the ability of the individual lower-income school child to perform.

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF MOBILITY ON THE CHILD

Effects of Mobility on Learning: Some Indicators

The effect of mobility on the progress of school children has been a matter of great concern to many educators. It seems reasonable to assume that a child's movement from one school to another would be a detrimental interruption of his learning processes. However, the studies which have attempted to measure the differences between children who have moved from school to school and those who have remained in the same educational setting have resulted in highly divergent findings. To say the least, according to one study,

> research on this problem has not been definitive. Gilliland reviewed 17 studies concerning the relation between mobility and achievement. Some studies showed that achievement deteriorated with mobility while others showed an improvement . . . Further, he suggested that variations in intelligence between transient and nontransient students made interpretation of results difficult.[1]

A Review of Evidence

As will be shown, the discrepancy among such findings is largely attributable to methodological inconsistencies and socio-economic differences within the population of each investigation. One study, conducted by Downie in a town in Oregon, attempted to answer the question, "Does moving from school system to school system have definite effects upon various factors of student adjustment?"[2] The researcher utilized a mental ability test and student questionnaires to gather data.

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[1] John L. Morris, Marianna Pestaner, and Albert Nelson, "Mobility and Achievement," Journal of Experimental Education, XXXV (Summer, 1967), 74. The study refers to the unpublished doctoral dissertation of C. H. Gilliland, "The Relation of Pupil Mobility to Achievement in the Elementary School," Colorado State College, Greeley, Colorado, 1958.

> The findings relating to the intelligence tests showed that children in Hermiston who moved about a good deal made test scores comparable to children who had been in continuous residence in the local schools. Sociometric results gained from the questionnaires . . . showed . . . that one or two moves or being in a school system from one to three years after moving seems to lead to greater average social acceptance than having been in the school throughout one's entire academic life, having moved around quite a bit, or having been in the school system less than a year.[3]

Another study in England compared achievement and intelligence quotients of students attending rural schools of more migrant populations with those of students attending more stable urban schools in the county.[4] The findings indicated that the ratio of performance to ability in English and arithmetic was greater in the rural schools.

Studies Conducted in Large Cities

Several mobility-achievement studies have been conducted in larger urban centers. Bollenbacher used covariant techniques to determine the importance of mental ability or school mobility as factors influencing the generally lower reading and arithmetic levels of children attending the Cincinnati public schools.[5] It was concluded that pupils who moved most often were consistently the least capable as measured by intelligence test scores and therefore scored lower on the standardized reading and arithmetic tests as well.

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[2] N. M. Downie, "A Comparison Between Children Who Have Moved from School to School with Those Who Have Been in Continuous Residence on Various Factors of Adjustment," Journal of Educational Psychology, XLIV (January, 1953), 50-53.

[3] This summary of Downie's findings is found in John W. Evans, Jr., "The Effect of Pupil Mobility upon Academic Achievement," National Elementary Principal, XLV (April, 1966), 18-22, cited in Harry L. Miller, ed., Education for the Disadvantaged (New York: Free Press, 1967), p. 14.

[4] A. C. Patterson, "The Effects of Pupil-Migrancy on Ability and Achievement in Rural and Burgh Schools," British Journal of Educational

A study of school children from a mobile working class area in Boston similarly indicated somewhat lower than normal intelligence scores.[6] A New Haven, Connecticut, study found that in both higher and lower grades of an elementary school the number of student moves was associated with an under-representation of good grades and an over-representation of poor grades.[7] These relationships were stronger at the upper grade levels. The analysis also discovered that more mobile youngsters were less likely to possess the highest citizenship ratings, which reflected the students' work habits and obedience in the classroom.

Findings of Other Studies

Evans attempted to find out whether pupil mobility had an adverse

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Psychology, XX (1950), 186-191.

[5] Joan Bollenbacher, "A Study of the Effect of Mobility on Reading Achievement," Reading Teacher, XV (March, 1962), 356-360.

[6] J. Aronoff, N. Raymond and A. Warmoth, "The Kennedy-Jefferson School District: A Report of a Neighborhood Study in Progress," unpublished manuscript, Center for Research and Development of Educational Differences, Harvard University, 1965.

[7] M. Levine, J. C. Wesolowski, and F. S. Corbett, "Pupil Turnover and Academic Performance in an Inner City Elementary School," (New Haven, Conn.: Author, 1964).

effect upon the achievement of fifth and sixth graders in a school which served a military base in Indiana. The achievement of both "non-mobile" and "mobile" pupils was compared with regard to four academic subject areas: reading, social studies, arithmetic, and science. A comparison of the mean and median scores for both groups and for all four subject areas indicated slight advantage for the mobile group. The final conclusion, based primarily on these scores, was that "mobility does not have an adverse effect upon the academic achievement of those students who have experienced it."[8] Moore found that mobility of suburban high school students was related to lower participation rates in student activities.[9] Snipes found that mobile school children in a Georgia county achieved greater success in reading vocabulary and reading comprehension than less mobile students.[10] Swanson showed that teachers perceived that children who recently transferred into an Illinois elementary school were more likely to have "social" and "behavioral" problems as a result of their mobility, but not "academic" problems.[11] Stiles' research indicated little significant difference between the academic and emotional adjustment of frequently mobile children and non-transient children.[12]

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[8] Evans, "The Effect of Pupil Mobility upon Academic Achievement," p. 22.

[9] Harry R. Moore, "Geographic Mobility and Performance in High School: Parts I and II," Journal of Secondary Education, XLI (November and December, 1966), 326-331, 350-352.

[10] Walter T. Snipes, "The Effect of Moving on Reading Achievement," Reading Teacher, XX (November, 1966), 242-246.

[11] Merlyn S. Swanson, "A Study of the Problems of Transfer Students in an Elementary School," Psychology in the Schools, VI (January, 1969), 92.

Difficulties of Comparison

The investigations mentioned indicate the difficulty of comparing studies dealing with the effects of school pupil mobility. This difficulty stems primarily from variations in methodological approach, difference in population characteristics, and, of course, inconsistency of results. Differences among the studies are represented by slight variations in research objectives; different data gathering instruments and techniques; differing definitions of mobility; varying types of performance measurement indicators and performances measured; differing age and social characteristics of study samples; a broad range of tightness in control of extraneous variables; and divergent geographic study areas. All of these factors inhibit comparison and generalized interpretation of the research findings.

Some Methodological Improvements

Morris *et al*. recognized the limitations of many of the studies exploring this particular subject. They presented the opinion (and this author is in basic agreement) that the conflicting results of studies reflect two kinds of common deficiencies: 1) that intelligence and socio-economic status had not been taken into account systematically; and 2) that the analyses had been confined to parametric statistics which could be biased by the presence of extreme scores. While undertaking their own study, entitled "Mobility and Achievement," they developed hypotheses which would test the existence of deficiencies in previous investigations. In their study, they investigated the dispersion of scores over various conditions of mobility and controlled for intelligence and socio-economic status. Their hypotheses were supported in part. Variation in reading scores obtained by mobile children of the industrial suburbs of northern Alameda County, California, was greater than the variation for non-mobile children. (See Table 9.) The hypothesized difference between the arithmetic scores of mobile and non-mobile children was not supported. (See Table 10.) As hypothesized, and similar to some previous studies, the mean reading and arithmetic scores obtained by mobile students were not significantly different from the scores of non-mobile students.

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[12] Grace Ellen Stiles, "Families on the Move," *The Educational Forum*, XXXII (May, 1968), 467-474.

> The distribution of reading scores of high SES subjects over three conditions of mobility was fairly uniform . . . however, there was considerable variance in the frequency of high, intermediate, and low scores between various conditions of mobility for low SES children. . . . Socio-economic status did not contribute to a statistically significant variance in the frequency of arithmetic scores.[13]

By taking intelligence and socio-economic status into account, the study demonstrated that mobility did have an effect on reading achievement for this particular population group. By analyzing the dispersion of reading scores it was shown that high SES children were less likely to fall into the third (lowest) reading achievement category, and that low SES subjects were less likely to move to the top third in reading before the second move. Following the second move, it was found that some low SES children recover and move into the highest achieving section, while others "become unsettled and apparently remain so," falling to the lowest level. Thus, in the Morris study, it became evident that within the low

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[13] Morris, "Mobility and Achievement," p. 76.

TABLE 9

EFFECT OF MOBILITY ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF READING SCORES

	Number of Schools Attended									
	1			2			3+			
	SES			SES			SES			
Reading Score	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	TOTAL
Top Third -34 to +58	26	39	65	20	11	31	14	28	42	138
Middle Third -19 to +33	19	37	56	15	39	54	10	16	26	136
Bottom Third -14 to +18	19	47	66	16	21	37	8	25	33	136

Mobility x Reading Score

Total Subjects $X^2 = 11.57$, df = 4, P .05

Low SES $X^2 = 22.92$, df = 4, P .01

High SES $X^2 = 0.34$, df = 4, P .05

Source: John L. Morris, Marianna Pestaner, and Albert Nelson, "Mobility and Achievement," The Journal of Experimental Education, XXXV (Summer, 1967), 77.

TABLE 10

EFFECT OF MOBILITY ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF ARITHMETIC SCORES

	Number of Schools Attended									
	1			2			3+			
		SES			SES			SES		
Arithmetic Score	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	Hi	Lo	Total	TOTAL
Top Third -27 to +62	20	41	61	21	30	51	4	22	26	138
Middle Third -15 to +26	28	39	67	18	15	33	16	20	36	136
Bottom Third -24 to +14	16	42	58	12	26	38	12	27	39	136

Mobility x Arithmetic Score

Total Subjects $X^2 = 6.99$, df = 4, P .05

Low SES $X^2 = 3.67$, df = 4, P .05

High Ses $X^2 = 7.98$, df = 4, P .05

Source: John L. Morris, Marianna Pestaner, and Albert Nelson, "Mobility and Achievement," The Journal of Experimental Education, XXXV (Summer, 1967), 77.

socio-economic group, some children seemed to have learned to cope with environmental changes and learn from them, while others did not. In addition to tightening controls and analyzing the dispersion of student scores, the Morris study is important because it exposes the need to know more about the lower income child, his personality attributes, his value system and motivation, and how these factors contribute to his academic resiliency, especially in regard to reading achievement.

Studies Conducted within Inner-City Areas

Several investigations have studied the proposition that mobility is detrimental to the academic achievement of the lower income inner-city child. The results of these empirical examinations, while not entirely consistent, generally support that proposition. In fact, some show that mere interruption in the educational process can hurt academic achievement.

It has been found that loss in academic achievement takes place among children during summer vacation, and the loss is especially marked among children from poor families.[14] Table 11 on page 100 has been extracted from a U. S. Office of Education report; this table shows seasonal differences in reading levels analyzed for the More Effective Schools program in New York City. The table shows, for each of three years, changes from fall to spring and from spring to fall of a new school year.

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[14] U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Title I/Year II: The Second Annual Report of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 33.

> In nine comparisons measuring the school year from fall to spring, six showed improvements better than average, one was average, and two fell behind.
>
> From spring to fall, however, the record turns bad. During these summer months, there was no improvement in relation to the norms. In six comparisons, ground was lost five times and retained only once. (See Table 11.)

An analysis of how mobility affects reading achievement of students in the More Effective Schools program shows that "mobility interferes with the effectiveness of programs and affects test scores. A program's effectiveness inevitably diminishes when those enrolled in it cannot be followed through a full school year from year to year."[15] As Table 12 indicates, the movement of a child from one school to another seems to have a more subtle effect on school achievement than the obvious impact of interrupting the continuity of the child's year. The table shows that the pupils who have continuous education in one school throughout the entire MES program do better.

The Justman Study

In 1965, Justman examined the record cards of sixth grade pupils attending sixteen schools located in disadvantaged areas in New York City.[16] Each of the 900+ pupils identified showed uninterrupted attendance in the New York public schools. The number of times each student was admitted to a different public school in the city represented his mobility, and children were grouped according to differing amounts of mobility.

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[15] U. S. Office of Education, Title I/Year II, p. 34.

[16] Joseph Justman, "Academic Aptitude and Reading Test Scores of Disadvantaged Children Showing Varying Degrees of Mobility," Journal of Educational Measurement, II (December, 1965), 151-155.

TABLE 11: SUMMER SETBACKS IN READING

Changes in Reading Level, Fall to Spring and Spring to Fall,
MES, October 1964 to April 1967

		Year 1				Year 2				Year 3			
Grades	Change	Oct. '64		May '65		Oct. '65		May '66		Oct. '66		April '67	All Three Years
2,3,4	Median	1.8		2.4		2.6		3.7		3.3		3.9	
	Fall to Spring		+.6				+1.1				+.6		
	Expected		+.7				+ .7				+.6		
	Net		-.1				+ .4				0		+ .3
	Spring to Fall				+.2				-0.4				
	Expected				+.3				+ .3				
	Net				-.1				-0.7				- .8
3,4,5	Median	2.6		3.4		3.4		4.2		3.8		4.5	
	Fall to Spring		+.8				+ .8				+.7		
	Expected		+.7				+ .7				+.6		
	Net		+.1				+ .1				+.1		+ .3
	Spring to Fall				0				- .4				
	Expected				+.3				+ .3				
	Net				-.3				-0.7				-1.0

TABLE 11--Continued

		Year 1			Year 2			Year 3		
Grades	Change	Oct. '64	May '65		Oct. '65	May '66		Oct. '66	April '67	All Three Years
4,5,6	Median	3.0	4.1		4.4	5.2		5.1	5.5	
	Fall to Spring	+1.1			+ .8			+.4		
	Expected	+ .7			+ .7			+.6		
	Net	+ .4			+ .1			-.2		+ .3
	Spring to Fall			+.3			- .1			
	Expected			+.3			+ .3			
	Net			0			- .4			- .4

Source: U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Title I/Year II: The Second Annual Report of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 33.

TABLE 12

CONTINUOUS EDUCATION IMPORTANT

Comparison of Reading Levels for Children with Different Educational Histories by Grade, Original MES Schools

Current Grade	Group	Education	MES	Median	Q3	Q1	Inter-quartile Range	Norm
4	1[a]	Unbroken	Full	4.1	4.9	3.4	1.5	4.7
	2[b]	Broken	Full	3.9	4.6	3.2	1.4	
	3[c]	Broken	Partial	3.6	4.3	3.1	1.2	
5	1	Unbroken	Full	4.9	6.0	4.1	1.9	5.7
	2	Broken	Full	4.7	5.7	3.9	1.8	
	3	Broken	Partial	4.4	5.4	3.7	1.7	
6	1	Unbroken	Full	5.9	8.7	4.8	3.9	6.7
	2	Broken	Full	5.6	7.3	4.4	2.9	
	3	Broken	Partial	5.0	7.0	4.0	3.0	

Source: U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Title I/Year II: The Second Annual Report of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, School Year 1966-67 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 34.

[a] Children in Group 1 were those whose education had been solely at an MES school during the three years the program was in effect.

[b] Children in Group 2 are those who had been attending another school and transferred before the full three-year MES program began.

[c] Children in Group 3 are those who transferred from some other school into the MES school after the MES program had begun.

> For the purposes of this study any pupil with more than a single admission to a New York City school was considered a mobile pupil. Four subgroups of pupils showing varying numbers (one, two, three, four or more) of admissions to the New York City schools were identified. The mean IQ's obtained by each of these subgroups on the Otis Quick Scoring Test of Mental Ability: Alpha, administered at the third grade level, and on the Otis Beta, administered at the sixth grade level, were compared. In addition a comparison was made of the mean reading grades obtained by pupils in the four subgroups on the appropriate level of the Metropolitan Reading Test given in these two grades.[17]

The total group of children showed below average test performance, and varying degrees of mobility were related to differences in test scores. The results of the Justman study are shown in Tables 13 and 14. A close examination of the tables indicates some interesting findings. There was a progressive decline in the mean grade scores for both mental ability and intelligence as mobility increased. Furthermore, with one exception, the differences in mean scores for each adjacent subgroup were statistically significant.

Another New York Study

Frankel and Forlano also compared the performance of transient and nontransient subgroups in a population of disadvantaged pupils in New York drawn from eighteen elementary schools participating in the Higher Horizons program from 1959 to 1962.[18] Student scores on the Otis Alpha and Otis Beta Mental Ability Tests, administered at the third and sixth grade levels, respectively, were analyzed. The summary of findings is as follows:

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[17] Ibid., p. 152.

[18] Edward Frankel and George Forlano, "Mobility as a Factor in the Performance of Urban Disadvantaged Pupils on Tests of Mental Ability," The Journal of Educational Research, LX (April, 1967), 355-357.

TABLE 13

MEAN IQ'S AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN MEAN IQ'S OF DISADVANTAGED PUPILS SHOWING VARYING DEGREES OF MOBILITY

Group	N	Mean IQ	SD	t
Third Grade				
One Admission	395	100.3	14.93	2.67**
Two Admissions	298	97.6	11.09	
Two Admissions	298	97.6	11.09	4.68**
Three Admissions	120	91.7	12.95	
Three Admissions	120	91.7	12.95	2.39**
Four Admissions	121	88.0	11.02	
Sixth Grade				
One Admission	395	102.4	19.98	3.38**
Two Admissions	298	97.5	17.73	
Two Admissions	298	97.5	17.73	3.99**
Three Admissions	120	90.5	16.51	
Three Admissions	120	90.5	16.51	3.25**
Four Admissions	121	84.0	14.47	

*p .05 **p .01

Source: Joseph Justman, "Academic Aptitude and Reading Test Scores of Disadvantaged Children Showing Varying Degrees of Mobility," _Journal of Educational Measurement_, II (December, 1965), 152.

TABLE 14

MEAN READING GRADES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN MEAN READING GRADES OF DISADVANTAGED PUPILS SHOWING VARYING DEGREES OF MOBILITY

Group	N	Mean Grade	SD	t
Test I-Word Knowledge				
Third Grade				
One Admission	384	3.7	1.18	4.44**
Two Admissions	285	3.3	1.13	
Two Admissions	285	3.3	1.13	3.33**
Three Admissions	110	2.9	1.03	
Three Admissions	110	2.9	1.03	1.54
Four Admissions	106	2.7	0.86	
Sixth Grade				
One Admission	384	6.4	2.34	3.53**
Two Admissions	285	5.8	2.05	
Two Admissions	285	5.8	2.05	3.18**
Three Admissions	110	5.1	1.62	
Three Admissions	110	5.1	1.62	2.38*
Four Admissions	106	4.6	1.40	
Test II-Reading				
Third Grade				
One Admission	384	3.5	1.15	3.75**
Two Admissions	285	3.2	0.93	
Two Admissions	285	3.2	0.93	3.64**
Three Admissions	110	2.8	1.07	
Three Admissions	110	2.8	1.07	2.31*
Four Admissions	106	2.5	0.89	2.31*
Sixth Grade				
One Admission	384	6.3	2.24	2.94**
Two Admissions	285	5.8	2.11	
Two Admissions	285	5.8	2.11	3.48**
Three Admissions	110	5.0	1.79	
Three Admissions	110	5.0	1.79	2.73**
Four Admissions	106	4.4	1.38	

*p .05 **p .01

Source: Joseph Justman, "Academic Aptitude and Reading Test Scores of Disadvantaged Children Showing Varying Degrees of Mobility," Journal of Educational Measurement, II (December, 1965), 154.

> 1. There was no significant difference between Otis Alpha and Otis Beta scores three years later of the nontransient subgroup.
> 2. The nontransient subgroup at the third grade scored significantly higher on the Otis Alpha test than their transient classmates. The same subgroup of nontransient pupils at [sixth grade level scored significantly higher] on the Otis Beta test than another group of transient counterparts.
> 3. The difference between the nontransient and transient subgroups at the sixth grade was greater than the difference between the nontransient and the transient subgroup at the third grade.[19]

Despite the deficiencies of the mobility studies, which complicate the comparability of findings, several such studies imply that the academic experience of the urban child from a lower economic background is more likely to be negatively affected by moving than is that of the child from a family in a higher economic bracket. However, although these studies show relationships between mobility and academic achievement, they tell us little about the cause and effect of such relationships. To explain some of the reasons behind these relationships necessitates a deeper analysis than statistical indicators allow. The influence of moving on a child's feelings and behavior, his relationships with others, his educational experience, and his physical surroundings can tell us much more than statistical studies about what is likely to affect his learning performance.

The inner-city child must be placed in proper perspective. Realizing the complexities of his environment, it seems nearly impossible in the case of the urban child to answer with any clarity the question: "Does moving cause differences in children, or do children move because they are different?" Rather, it appears more realistic to view mobility as one of the many conditions which interact in influencing the inner-city child. In the preceding chapter it was shown that children with particular family backgrounds will be required to move more often than others. Their environment is more likely to cause their mobility.

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[19] _Ibid._, p. 357.

The following discussion points up the ways in which mobility is likely to affect the educational performance of the child.[20] Some of the information obtained from the Milwaukee survey, which is used in the following analysis, is summarized in Tables 15 and 16. Two aspects are important in discussing how mobility affects a child: (1) the child himself--his biological, psychological, and intellectual makeup, his behavior patterns and ego mechanisms--must be considered, as must be (2) the environmental and social forces which influence the child throughout his socialization process.[21]

The Mobile Child

The lower income child is likely to possess personality attributes which make it difficult for him to make a transition into a new

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[20] This discussion will be supplemented by information gathered in the preliminary exploratory study conducted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which involved the interviewing of twenty-two mothers or female guardians of children enrolled in the advanced elementary grades of the Milwaukee Public Schools. Each family moved within Milwaukee within six months prior to the interview. Seventeen families were displaced due to proposed public improvement projects and four were evicted from their previous dwellings. The move made it necessary for the children of elementary school age to transfer schools. Socio-economic status was controlled on a family-by-family basis due to the small size of the sample. Each interviewee was given a standardized interview with some open-ended questions in order to obtain her perceptions concerning family life in general, the effect of mobility on it, and especially the educational experience of the children. A more detailed explanation of methodological features and a sample interview questionnaire are contained in Appendices E and F.

[21] Robert E. Switzer, et al., "The Effect of Family Moves on Children," Mental Hygiene, XLV (October, 1961), 529.

TABLE 15

SUMMARY OF CHARACTERISTICS AND COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING, FAMILIES INTERVIEWED IN MILWAUKEE PUPIL MOBILITY SURVEY

Selected Characteristics	Socio-economic Status[1]			
	Upper-lower (54-66) N=11		Lower-lower (67-84) N=11	
Family[2]	Range	Mean	Range	Mean
Number of Family Moves in Previous Five Years	1 - 4	2.4	1 - 5	2.7
Number of Persons per Household	4 - 12	7	5 - 11	8.1
Child[3]				
Age	9 - 11	10.2	9 - 12	11.4
Grade in School	4 - 6	5	4 - 6	5.3
Number of Schools Attended in Milwaukee	2 - 4	2.7	2 - 5	3.4
Race[4]	7 - W 4 - B		6 - W 3 - B 2 - O	

Source: Milwaukee Pupil Mobility Survey

[1] For a description of the procedures by which the socio-economic status of the families was measured, see Appendix F. For further reference see W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 121-159.

[2] This data pertains to each family unit of analysis included in the sample.

[3] This data pertains to the selected child-member of each family unit interviewed.

[4] W = Whites, B = Blacks, O = Others. One family in this sample was Mexican-American and another family was American Indian.

TABLE 16

FREQUENCY OF SELECTED RESPONSES BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING
MILWAUKEE PUPIL MOBILITY SURVEY

Question	Answer	Frequency	
		Upper-lower	Lower-lower
11. How many times have you moved in the past five years?	Once	4	1
	Twice	1	4
	3 times	4	4
	4 times	2	1
	5 times	0	1
12. When the decision was made by you, or someone else, that you were going to move from your last address, would you say at that time, you were "forced" to move or that you "wanted" to move?	Forced	10	10
	Wanted	1	1
13. Do you think that you would have moved within a year anyway?	Yes	7	3
	No	4	8
14. Would you have liked to have had more time to find a new place?	Yes	6	7
	No	5	4
17. What was the main reason that you left your last address?	Needed more space	0	1
	Displaced--pub. proj.	9	8
	Evicted	2	2
18. Were you offered any kind of moving or relocation assistance or services?	Yes	11	11
	No	0	0

TABLE 16--Continued

Question	Answer	Frequency Upper-lower	Frequency Lower-lower
19. Did any organization or social agency contact you to welcome you upon your arrival in this (new) neighborhood?	Yes	0	0
	No	11	11
32. Some people say that when a family moves and the children must change schools, it is difficult for them to adjust and do as well as before in school. In general, do you agree or disagree?	Agree	7	7
	Disagree	4	3
	Don't know	0	1
48. Has anyone in this household had contact with [child's] new teacher?	Yes	8	11
	No	3	0
49. Did anyone at the new school do anything special in order to help [child] adjust?	Yes	1	3
	No	10	8
50. Did anyone at the old (previous) school do anything or suggest anything to prepare [child] for the move into the new school?	Yes	2	2
	No	9	9
51. Did you do anything special to help [child] adjust to either this (present) school, this home, or this neighborhood?	Yes	7	2
	No	4	9

TABLE 16--Continued

Question	Answer	Frequency Upper-lower	Frequency Lower-lower
52. Since [child] has been in his present school, have his (her) report cards been better, the same, or worse than before the move?	Better	2	5
	Same	7	1
	Worse	2	5
53. Did anyone else, such as relatives, brothers or sisters, friends, agencies, or organizations do anything to make the move easier for [child]?	Yes	0	0
	No	11	11
54. Other than yourself or members of the immediate family, do you think that there is a need for someone in the school system or an agency to provide special help or attention to school children who have moved and are trying to adjust to a new situation?	Yes	9	8
	No	2	3
	Total Respondents	11	11

Source: Milwaukee Pupil Mobility Survey. See Appendix E, p. 308.

situation. A child's personal characteristics and self concepts are strongly shaped by the social context within which they develop, especially socio-economic status and ethnic background of the family. The child's image of himself, the difference between the reality and ideal of his goals, and his personal characteristics can determine the way he adapts under stress. In addition, the family organization, the relative importance of the roles of the mother and father, their presence or absence, and their ideas regarding child socialization also have something to say about how a child behaves and reacts.[22]

Thomas S. Langner's review of parents' child-rearing practices, attitudes and aspirations, self-esteem, norms and other behavioral traits as they influence their child "leaves no doubt that social class levels have specific psychological characteristics or basic personality types of their own, even though there is a good deal of overlapping between classes."[23]

Because the treatment of lower class personality characteristics cannot be exhaustive or even thorough, research findings from two selected sources will summarize the psychological traits likely to be found among lower income groups. Langner summarizes his results by stating that:

> Persons of low SES . . . are more rigid, suspicious, and have a fatalistic outlook on life. They do not plan ahead, a characteristic associated with their fatalism. They are prone to

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[22] See Joan I. Roberts, ed., School Children in the Urban Slum: Readings in Social Science Research (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 169-177, 363-370.

[23] Thomas S. Langner, "Socio-economic Status and Personality Characteristics," in School Children in the Urban Slum: Readings in Social Science Research, ed. by Joan I. Roberts (New York: Free Press,

> depression, have feelings of futility, lack of belongingness, friendlessness, and lack of trust in others. They are more authoritarian in their attitudes, stressing obedience, power, and hierarchical relations.[24]

A report which reviews pertinent studies relating to low-income life styles says that such characteristics are caused by the person's constant struggle with four conditions of life: little opportunity to experience much of the world, helplessness, deprivation, and insecurity. This struggle can result in estrangement from society, from other individuals, and even from oneself. "Conceptualized as 'alienation,' this view of life is repeatedly found associated with lower social and economic status."[25] Generally it is reflected through feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, anomia, and isolation; all of these have their effect upon the way low-income persons live and behave.

> There are four distinctive themes peculiar to lower class behavior, all apparently the result of a deprived, alienated condition: fatalism, orientation to the present, authoritarianism, and concreteness . . . The natural counterpart of feeling helpless is belief in uncontrollable external forces. The attitude is reminiscent of belief in fate. People cannot avoid what is going to happen to them. Resignation is the most realistic approach to life . . . Hand in hand with fatalism goes a persistent tendency to think in terms of the present rather than the future. It is, after all, fruitless to pay attention to the distant future or try to plan life when fortune and chance are considered its basic elements. Also, when so much of one's resources must be expended simply to survive the present, little is left over for the future.[26]

There exists a wide assortment of psychological, sociological, and anthropological research which explains the special nature of life style

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1967), p. 182.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

[25] Irelan, *Low-Income Life Styles*, pp. 1-8.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

influences on lower income children. Together, many of them are generally consistent with the above findings. In-depth studies, such as those by Minuchin and Pavenstedt, explain in great detail exploratory observations of the personality makeup of children from lower class families.[27]

It should be noted, however, that much of the literature on the "disadvantaged" child is deficient primarily because it focuses only on what is deficient in the child. There has been little controlled research which has as its major emphasis the positive strengths and attributes of low income children. Most accounts of these children's assets are in the form of anecdotal reports such as those by Brown and Kozol, which describe traits such as personal courage, physical prowess, problem solving, sensitivity and concern for others, keen perceptiveness, and stamina.[28]

On the whole, the literature on psychological and personality attributes of individuals from a lower economic background show that they are more likely to have many stresses in their lives, causing them to worry about the cost of living, their work, and other aspects of their lives. For the child in the inner city who moves, stresses may manifest themselves through numerous psychological, educational, sociological, and physical changes which affect his ability to adapt and to achieve in school.

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[27] See Salvador Minuchin, et al., Families of the Slums: An Exploration of Their Structure and Treatment (New York: Basic Books, 1967), and Eleanor Pavenstedt, ed., Children of Disorganized Lower-Class Families: The Drifters (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967).

[28] Claude Brown, Manchild in the Promised Land (New York: The New American Library, 1965); and Jonathan Kozol, Death at an Early Age

The Mobile Child and Family

Family Stress and Adaptive Capacity

A move which has not been planned and comes rather suddenly can frequently be interpreted as a crisis, creating stress for a family. For example, Weinberg places involuntary migration in perspective by indicating that it is more stress-provoking than is voluntary migration.[29] Sociologist Alvin Toffler speaks with great concern of the way in which "health and change seem to be inextricably linked"--and of the "shattering stress and disorientation" that sudden, unpredictable change can cause the individual.[30]

The fact that crises or turning points are normal occurrences in life would seem to indicate that a family which possesses adequate resources and inner strength with which to make a transition would experience little disorganization as a result of such a move. As Chaskel states,

> Families thus fortified are better able to handle or withstand potentially stressful events than families with less adequate organization. In other words, the well-integrated family has a high toleration threshold for what Waller terms "stressors" or "crisis-provoking events"--situations for which the family had little or no prior preparation and that therefore are problematic.[31]

Such a family is best equipped to adapt to the "inevitable vicissitudes" of mobility. Hill found, however, that different events as they

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(Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

[29] Abraham A. Weinberg, "Mental Health Aspects of Voluntary Migration," Mental Hygiene, XXXIX (July, 1964), 464.

[30] Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Random House, 1970).

[31] Ruth Chaskel, "Effect of Mobility on Family Life," Social Work, IX (October, 1964), 84-85.

affect the family vary in their accompanying hardships and that stresses become crises in line with the definition the family makes of the event; families of lower economic status are usually more vulnerable to such consequences because of their less than adequate resources.[32] The adaptive capacity of children who are members of such families is lower than it is likely to be for children from more affluent backgrounds. For example, Gordon and Gordon found that

> The incidence of emotional disorders of childhood parallels mobility . . . such a comparison indicates that each child suffers, at least temporarily, an impairment of capacity to cope with his life situation and to make interpersonal contact. This decreased capacity, plus feelings of abandonment, loss, helplessness, isolation and fear of the unknown may become more than temporary if the child is already anxious about his relationships with his parents, or if he interprets the move as an indication of family disfunction, instability, and possible disintegration, or if he cannot on his own, or with the help of his parents, regain his former degree of capacity to cope and to make effective interpersonal contacts.[33]

The child's adaptive capacity to the elements of a new situation seems to be intricately tied to his family's ability to adapt.

> The environmental pressure or outside burdens that fall on the family will in the last analysis lead to some impairment of function. The degree of injury depends, as has been said, on family structure and resilience as well as, of course, the heaviness of the blow received. Discrimination, chronic illness and lack of employment opportunity are among the causes of disaster against which even the strong face an unequal struggle.[34]

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[32] Reuben Hill, "Generic Features of Families Under Stress," Social Casework, XXXIX (February and March, 1958), 139-150.

[33] Switzer, "The Effect of Family Moves on Children," p. 529. Switzer refers to R. E. Gordon and K. K. Gordon, "Emotional Disorders of Children in a Rapidly Growing Suburb," International Journal of Social Psychiatry, IV (Autumn, 1958), 85-97.

[34] Chaskel, "Effect of Mobility on Family Life," p. 86.

Minneapolis Case

The conditions described above in theoretical terms are reflected on a more personal level in the following letter from a Minneapolis mother to a social worker conveying her intense distress at the plight of her children:

> We have two children attending _______School and one attending kindergarten at ________. Our daughter _________ (second grade) and son ________ (first grade) have attended three schools so far. I would so much like to see them finish at least one complete school year in one school. I believe they are becoming emotionally overwraught with all the uprooting they are going through with changing schools so much.
>
> Due to my husband's extensive illness we are vexed with the possibility of losing our home. Since December, 1969 my husband has been suffering with virus colds and pneumonia, hampered by a case of nerve ulcers. We find ourselves three months in arrears with our house payments--at $150.70 a month--totaling $452.10.
>
> I now ask you for any help you may be able to give us in restoring the security of our housing. We also have three preschool age children and I must add that there was no sick leave pay (no wages at all) since the first week in January.
>
> I again ask you _________[social worker] to please help us in any way you can find a way to give a more secure environment for our children. Please, help us. Thank you so very much.[35]

Milwaukee Case

One Milwaukee mother, living on welfare with her seven children in a dilapidated five-room house, gave a disturbing account of the impact of moving on her life and the lives of her children. She was forced to move because she lived in the path of a proposed expressway. The expressway commission had promised to find her suitable housing, but failed to do so. The following are her comments:

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[35] The letter was supplied to this author by an elementary school social worker serving a highly mobile area in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The recipient stated that letters such as the one cited are unusual since most parents for one reason or another do not communicate in this way, although many families suffer from similar types of problems.

> The county relocation looked at public housing for me. Found me a three-bedroom unit in a housing project but then I didn't qualify because I had some judgments against me so I couldn't move. I would have loved that place. I let them look for a place to rent for me, but I ended up finding this place myself. They really harassed me to move. Said 'You have to move, you have to move!' Finally sent movers who just grabbed everything. Threw it on the truck--mind you, they even packed the garbage and they broke the few good glasses I had that had belonged to my mother. They packed our clothes--wouldn't even let me have clothes for the children. We were left with only what we had on our backs. The whole thing made me so nervous I lost my job. I was under such tension looking for a place to live and not finding anything, I almost had a nervous breakdown. I had been working at _______ and was earning good money, but my nerves couldn't take it.

This mother agreed with the notion that it is difficult for children to adjust following a move "because they miss their friends. They know it's hard to make new friends. When you have to keep moving and keep going to new schools, kids really suffer from this."

The particular set of circumstances surrounding her most recent move, however, had a much more serious effect on her children and eventually her family life. She had to place her children in foster homes, since she had trouble finding a new home immediately following her dislocation. Speaking of her eleven-year-old fifth grade son--who had attended five schools--she stated that being in a foster home ruined him for "our way of living" because they gave him everything and let him do things that she could not afford. "He wants to go back. He hates it at home. He doesn't respect me. He rebels against everything. He won't listen to me." These comments show the intense desperation of the mother over the drastic changes within her child since the move. She states that he rebels in school, and his grades have suffered. She went to Youth Aid for help, has been trying to get him in the Boys' Club, and has a psychiatrist from a local medical school work with him. This was only one of her seven children; she was not asked to talk about the others.

The above case, and the previous one represented by the letter from the Minneapolis mother, are two examples of how the economic and health conditions of the family at the time of the move, rather than lack of parental concern, are the pertinent factors which influence the child's unsettlement. In addition to family problems and emergencies which largely stem from an inadequate level of income, other influences such as parental attitudes and maternal deprivation can indirectly help diminish the child's ability to cope with a move and are closely intertwined with stress on a family at the time of a move.

Family Attitudes and Feelings

Pederson and Sullivan studied the effects of geographic mobility and parental personality factors on the emotional disorders of children at Walter Reed General Hospital. They studied a disturbed group of youngsters and a control group of normal children. Their findings as to the relationship between mobility and emotional disturbance were as follows:

> Two areas of parent attitudes thought to be relevant to the stress effects of mobility were examined, "acceptance of mobility" and "identification with the military." A high correlation was found between parental scores in these two areas and the children's adjustment.

Although they considered the view that mobility itself is stressful to the child to be tenuous, they concluded that "definable parental attitudes relevant to mobility may serve to mediate the stress effects such that the actual incidence of mobility may be of relatively minor significance."[36]

Stubblefield also feels that the emotional attitude of the parents can affect that of the child. For example, he suggests that if the father's transfer by the company means a better way of life for the family, the child will be more likely to respond to the general enthusiasm about the new venture. However, if the move for the father is not anticipated as beneficial, or if the mother feels that she will lose a familiar and convenient neighborhood or possibly a rewarding job, either of the parents will convey his own anxiety and resentment in a traumatic way to the child.[37]

In some cases, parental attitudes seem to have little effect. For example, one couple in Milwaukee had negative feelings about a move because they were forced to move from a sound house which they owned so that it could be torn down to make room for a city park. Their new house was much smaller, but they were paying much more. The mother said she felt the city should have paid the difference in interest rates on their new house mortgage--the old one was five percent, the new one eight and one-half percent. Furthermore, they liked the old house and neighborhood better and would rather have stayed there. Yet, despite these parental feelings, the mother said that all her children make friends easily and usually are happy in whatever they are doing. They had no trouble in adjusting.

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[36] F. A. Pederson and E. J. Sullivan, "Relationships Among Geographic Mobility, Parental Attitudes and Emotional Disturbances in Children," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXIV (1964), 575-580.

[37] Robert L. Stubblefield, "Childrens' Emotional Problems Aggravated by Family Moves," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXV (January, 1955), 122. Chaskel also discusses this particular problem

Another mother felt she had no problems with her children in moving primarily because "the whole family was excited about it." In still another case, the attitudes of a husband and wife who "like nothing about their new home and neighborhood" and were forced to move, seemed to have some influence on the child's attitude of disliking everything about the new neighborhood. Whether such attitudes have much influence or not, they would not seem to be much help at a time when the child himself is attempting to adjust to the new school, especially if he misses his old friends and is attempting to make new ones. It seems that parental attitudes can either hamper or stimulate a child's resiliency in such a situation.

Disassociation from the Old

Marc Fried found that among working class residents relocated from the West End of Boston, a strong sense of spatial identity and dependence on a stable social network had much to do with their grieving over the loss of their old home and neighborhood.[38] In such cases, negative feelings and experiences are related to the first element of the moving process--detachment from a familiar situation. The definition the family makes of the event (according to Fried, likely to be negative among working class residents) may affect the attitudes of the child.

Adaptation to the New

Other feelings are distinctly associated with the second element

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(see pp. 87-88).

[38] Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home: Psychological Costs of

of the moving process--having to adapt and orient oneself to a new situation. Parents' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a new house or neighborhood might easily be transferred to the child. For example, parents may feel socially inferior in a new neighborhood.

> If a child identifies himself with such parents, his adjustment may become sufficiently neurotic to interfere with healthy development. He parrots his parents in talking of the unfriendly, unkind people in the new neighborhood and obtains uncomfortable satisfaction from meeting his parents' expectations of being unable to integrate himself either in the neighborhood or the new school.[39]

Changes in housing design, housing space, and other features of the new physical setting may influence both attitudes of the family and the child's behavior.[40] The children in fourteen of the twenty-two Milwaukee families had more space in which to study in their new homes. Only one mother related the influence of the physical aspects of the new house on her child's activities. She said that her son was so happy to have more room that many times she had to look for him, and he was usually up in his bedroom reading. "He reads and studies much more now because they all aren't on top of each other!" Eleven of the respondents mentioned more room to play, having a yard, and nearness of a playground as being important reasons why their children like the new neighborhood.

Relocation," The Urban Condition, ed. by Leonard J. Duhl (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

[39] Switzer, "The Effect of Family Moves on Children," p. 530.

[40] For example, see: William S. Jackson, "Housing and Pupil Growth and Development," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (May, 1955), 370-380; Alvin L. Schorr, Slums and Social Insecurity (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963); and Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle Price Walkley, Thomas C. Pinkerton, and Matthew Tayback, The Housing Environment and Family Life: A Longitudinal Study

The propensity for dissatisfaction to occur in both the child and parents may depend greatly on where the move takes place. Children and families moving

> from one slum area to another probably will experience a minimum of trouble in gaining acceptance, or at least being ignored in their new surroundings. Since the family's values, income and general appearance "fit" most of their new neighbors' there is little reason for friction.[41]

On the other hand, moving for a child could be complicated by many factors such as prejudice, clannishness, discrimination, hostility, socio-economic class, socio-cultural stratification and marginality, language barriers, and minority status. It may be not only the family attitudes or the distance of the move that could influence the child's adaptability, but the contrast between the old and the new environment.[42]

> Ego strength and family integration are a sine qua non in weathering the stresses of mobility. Many troubled individuals have never achieved ego identity or the press of harsh experiences has led to ego impairment. Mobility that at best results in nothing else but the need to familiarize oneself with the tempo and resources of the new community, make new friends, live with new authority figures, and adjust to a changed cultural or subcultural climate puts a severe strain on individuals and families whose previous orientation has not prepared them for this, but who if left in a static environment would have been able to make out socially and psychologically.[43]

Process of Adaptation

James Tyhurst observed that individuals move through three

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of the Effects of Housing on Morbidity and Mental Health (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 225-237.

[41] Donald Bevis and Richard Faunce, "The Mobile Child; Minority or Majority," Minnesota Journal of Education, XLV (December, 1964), 30.

[42] Ruth Perlman, "The Uprooted Child," The National Elementary Principal, XLII (February, 1963), 42-45.

[43] Chaskel, "Effect of Mobility on Family Life," p. 86.

identifiable stages of adaptation to a new situation. Information gained from the Milwaukee interviews suggests that such stages may be valid for the mobile school child.

> In field studies of individuals following immigration, a fairly consistent pattern can . . . be defined. Initially, the person is concerned with the immediate present, with an attempt to find work, make money, and find shelter. These features are often accompanied by restlessness and increased psychomotor activity. . . .[44]

According to one of the Milwaukee mothers, "To be forced to move is nerve-racking. You're under pressure to find a place to rent. No one wants to rent to you when you have seven kids and you have to look for cheap rent. It makes a nervous wreck out of you." To the school child this stage means saying goodbyes, having farewell get-togethers, and periods of anxiety and anticipation. There is a gradual, at least psychological, detachment from his old surroundings.

> As the person's sense of strangeness or incongruity in the new surroundings grows, a second phase, 'psychological arrival,' takes place. Characteristic of this are increasing anxiety and depression; increasing self-preoccupation, often with somatic preoccupations and somatic symptoms; general withdrawal from the society in contrast to previous activity; and some degree of hostility and suspicion. The sense of difference and helplessness becomes increasingly intense and the period is characterized by marked discomfort and turmoil. This period of more or less disturbance may last . . . one to several months.[45]

Fourteen of the twenty-two respondents in Milwaukee agreed that when a family moves and the children must change schools they must go through a recognizable period of discomfort. Actually the proportion of these mothers is undoubtedly higher, since many of those who reported no observable adjustment difficulties in children clearly indicated perceptions of behavioral changes in response to other questions. The following responses provide anecdotal evidence of Tyhurst's second stage in school children.

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[44] James S. Tyhurst, "The Role of Transition States--Including Disasters--in Mental Illness," in Symposium on Preventive and Social Psychiatry (Washington: Walter Reed Army Medical Center, 1964), p. 154.

[45] Ibid.

> I've found in my own family, it's been hard for children to get used to a new school and to make new friends. Their school work gets worse, too. (6 mos.)
>
> He seems nervous in the new school. His marks are down from _______ school. He gets in trouble here compared to the other neighborhood. He fights more. (12 mos.)
>
> I feel when you are new, the kids in school are not nice to you and children are scared. He is friendly and it was hard for him to come to this school because the older boys want to fight and he don't like to fight. He is more quiet all the time. I don't like this because ________ is not this way. I think it will be better when he finds new friends. (4 mos.)
>
> When we first moved he didn't like it at all--he was very quiet. He is getting better now though, because he has many new friends. (5 mos.)
>
> The children feel the teachers don't help them as much here--they feel strange and uncomfortable. He is fidgety and restless. He fools around on the bus and fights with other boys- he never did that before. I guess he still doesn't feel at home at the new school. (4 mos.)
>
> They don't know anybody in the new school. They miss their friends. They're afraid. My little girl cried; she used to be brought home from school with an upset stomach and such after we moved because she didn't know anyone and was afraid. (5 mos.)
>
> Kids often would come home crying. The kids would tease them until they got to know the children. He likes going to school and is comfortable there now. (3 mos.)
>
> She was quiet in school the first week and wouldn't talk to anyone. I think she was just bashful, but it didn't take her long to get over it--she talks all the time now. (5 mos.)

According to Tyhurst, the third phase of adjustment

> takes the form of relative adjustment to the new surroundings, a settling in, or else, in extreme cases, 'the development of more severe disturbances manifested by more intense disorders of mood, the development of abnormal mental content and breaks with

reality.' Some people, in short, never do adjust adequately.[46]

The shy child, especially, may find it more difficult to adjust to a new situation in terms of both school and peer relations. It is up to the parent to be alert to the possibility of harmful effects on children and be ready to seek guidance if needed. However, the more conflicted the parent, the more difficult it is likely to be for him to do so. "Sometimes the very characteristic of self reliance, which in the first place prompts the parents to seek or accept mobility, makes them unsympathetic to the child's weakness. Or again, they may see their own latent and denied ambivalence in the child and react defensively.[47]

Parental Deprivation

Thirteen of the twenty-two mothers interviewed noted that no special help or attention was given their children during and following the move. One mother of seven children who was very interested in her children's school work, but was employed full-time, said she did not have enough time to pay attention to what was going on at school, and not enough money. She earns more than welfare would pay, but "it is not enough to raise the kids on." She and her husband separated before she moved into the house, they fought all the time, and he does nothing to help support the children. In several interviews, including the one from which the above findings are drawn, it was quite evident that the mother had minimal knowledge of children's reaction to moving and transferring schools. Often she gave shallow and superficial answers and was unable to answer several basic questions at all.

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[46] Ibid.

[47] Chaskel, "Effect of Mobility on Family Life," pp. 87-88.

Children within a large, economically disadvantaged family are more likely to be ignored during a move. The normally overburdened housewife during the time of a move may be so pressed in taking care of family matters and resettling (especially if the father is absent) that she has very little or no time to spend with her children. Short separations may be necessary when children stay with relatives or friends. But no matter what arrangements are made, the children are liable to be deprived of maternal attention just at the time when they may need it most. Under normal conditions, children from lower class inner-city families lack consistent care from the same person. "Growing up in a noisy, hectic apartment with a mother whose physical and emotional presence is unreliable and who is frequently overwhelmed by the manifold burdens of the household and the care of many children, these children frequently are left alone for hours."[48] Stubblefield has noted that

> One of the major influences in preventing a child's untoward reactions to a family move is a carry-over of positive motivations about the move from the parents to the child, along with ample time and active support from the parents relative to the particular vulnerability of the child's age and level of emotional growth.[49]

Such positive forces which fortify a child against the anxiety inherent in family moves are more likely to be absent in disadvantaged families since parental deprivation would tend to get worse during and following a move.

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[48] Miller, Education for the Disadvantaged, p. 56.

[49] Stubblefield, "Childrens' Emotional Problems Aggravated by

Certain family attributes and behavior would tend to lessen or slow down the adaptive capacity of a low-income child in a new situation. The limited amount of family resources available to cope with a move, the greater likelihood that a move would be negatively perceived and defined by family members, and the propensity for maternal deprivation to increase at the time of the move, in conjunction with the child's own psychological and personality attributes molded by low-income life style, lessen the chances such a child has to adapt quickly to a new neighborhood and school. Should a child acquire negative feelings regarding the new situation, they would most likely be expressed through behavior which would hamper his academic performance. However, the low income family, with its identifiable traits and influences, is not the only factor which can place the inner-city child in a relatively deficient position as he attempts to attain normal adjustment. The school, especially in its ability to receive a new child, can play a role in the way the student adapts.

The Mobile Child and the School

The school in the inner city is likely to produce certain difficulties for the mobile child that would be less likely to occur in public schools in other areas. The pupil population of an inner-city public school is apt to be highly mobile as was shown in Chapter II. The condition of mobility complicates the normal administrative and teaching operations of the school, as well as efforts to provide a smooth entrance for a student into a new academic atmosphere.

Family Moves," p. 122.

Reaction of Teachers

Bevis and Faunce suggest that a teacher's reaction to a mobile child may depend upon whether he is teaching in a high or low mobility school.[50] In high mobility schools, likely to be located in the inner city, where the stable, non-moving child is relatively rare, the teacher is liable to concentrate his teaching efforts upon a small group of these students. Rader suggests that in a situation where classroom turnover is relatively high, teacher turnover may be high as well, since the opportunity to follow a child's progress is diminished.[51] Havighurst's study of teachers in Chicago indicates a "deep ambivalence" about teaching in a school in a high transiency, low-income area: "If there is a constant ebb and flow of pupils, there is little chance that the teacher will be able to get satisfaction of achievement that most humans need so much."[52] Especially younger, less experienced teachers, in order to attain some sense of achievement themselves, will be prone to seek out and observe those children whose progress can be followed.

Through informal conversation with numbers of teachers who taught in highly mobile schools in all four cities, the ideas of Bevis and Faunce were accepted. All of the teachers who were interested in giving the issue serious thought admitted that they frequently found themselves more attracted to those children whose presence was more lengthy.

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[50] Bevis and Faunce, "The Mobile Child," p. 30.

[51] H. Rader, "Teacher and Pupil Relationships in High Mobility Schools," Chicago Schools Journal, XLIV (1962), 1-6.

[52] Robert J. Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago (Chicago: The Board

In low mobility schools, the opposite teacher reaction may occur. The pupil who has moved may be the one who is selected to receive special help. Teachers in schools where there are few students moving may react positively to the mobile child, while teachers in schools where a great number of the children move may be displeased with such students because of the continually changing composition of their classrooms. The child coming into a highly mobile school will more likely receive the impression that he is unwanted and a nuisance.[53]

Administrative Overload

Receptiveness toward the child may also be less cordial in high mobility schools due to the administrative problems involved. For example, when a child transfers schools, certain adjustments must be made by the new teacher to accommodate the new student. Books and materials must be handed out, new assignments made, records from the former school examined, school and classroom procedures explained, introductions made, and classroom routine adjusted.[54]

One mother, whose children had changed schools four months before the interview, volunteered her opinion that if each child's records from the old school were sent to the new school it would help the new teacher--especially where some children have problems with which they were receiving special help in the old school. She was afraid that her fourth grade son was slipping back because he was not getting the special help

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of Education of the City of Chicago, 1964), pp. 344-347.

[53] Bevis and Faunce, "The Mobile Child," p. 30.

[54] See Robert C. Calvo, "Helping the Mobile Child in School," Phi Delta Kappan, L (April, 1969), 487.

that he needed in the new school. She had called the old school, and they said they would send his records to the new school. At the time of the interview, his records had not been received.

The procedures that school staff members, but especially teachers, must go through in order to get a new child situated can be quite demanding of both their time and energy. In schools where there are many pupils to be received it is impossible to do a satisfactory job. Frequently the routine administrative burden created by a highly mobile pupil population is not well accepted by the people who have to carry out the extra work. Too often the mobile child's adjustment suffers because of the overburdened school staff and lack of a better way with which to greet and process him.

Attitudes

Prejudicial attitudes can easily develop, especially in high mobility schools. Administrators, teachers, and even students on occasion reveal hostility toward these new children. One conscientious mother described an insensitive reaction of one teacher toward her child, who was exhibiting behavioral problems which could have been related to the move. The boy was dropped behind a semester because of the move. Since then, she said that "he shows off for attention. The school complains that he tattles a lot and does things to draw attention to himself. He is having problems finding a place for himself in the school. He wants to belong and be recognized." In fact, the mother reported to the teacher that she believed his behavior to be intentional for this reason. However, the teacher only saw his behavior as "disrupting the class," intentionally. If the subsequent behavior of the teacher toward the child is any indication, the mother's viewpoint was given little consideration; the teacher had him get up in front of his class and explain that his mother could not afford to pay for the lunch program. "Everyone knew he got free lunch. This bothered my son very much."

Switzer mentions some of the reasons for teachers' attitudes in his discussion of the school's influence on the mobile child's ability to adjust:

> Signs of this prejudice may even be overt: open resistance to the implications of the necessary changes; reluctance to believe that the entering child could possibly be as good as the child who has left; reluctance to believe that the new student could have had the proper educational background in his previous school; excessive demands and skepticism for records from prior schools; basic, and often openly expressed, belief that while varied experience may have some value, it remains necessarily disastrous to proper educational progress; unwillingness or inability to explain in meaningful detail to either parent or child the mores and the rules of the new school; expressed doubt that needed texts and supplies can be obtained or thinly disguised disdain for previous texts and procedures; and a real reluctance to overburden further a school budget already stripped to a substandard level.[55]

Continuity of Curriculum

Compounding the causes for such attitudes are the difficulties involved when schools offer special education classes, ability grouping, compensatory curriculums, or other types of instruction demanding special student placement. Such educational devices are becoming more and more prevalent and needed within city schools, and the program and curriculum offerings among inner-city schools are becoming more diffuse than similar.

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[55] Switzer, "The Effect of Family Moves on Children," p. 534.

Evidence of this problem is contained in the following two statements of respondents in the Milwaukee survey: "The actual school work is harder. She has problems with math and social studies. She never had this type of math or civics at the other Milwaukee school. No problem with the teacher." Another mother said that "every school is different in techniques and it's hard for children to adjust to these techniques, and also, children will harass newcomers."

This widening variety among academic programs is liable to place a much greater burden on the adaptive ability of the child who transfers among inner-city schools than upon those changing suburban schools with similar, more standard courses of study. Even when schools use different approaches to the teaching of common subjects such as reading, the mobile child has the problem of readjusting his behavior as a student. Often the student is not aware of his special placement and when grades arrive from the previous school it is frequently found that the student was taking remedial work, compensatory courses, or possibly courses entirely different from those he remembered taking.[56]

The above discussion shows how the continuity of course instruction can be interrupted by a child's transfer from one school to another. Due to the wide range and focused nature of many classes among inner-city schools, it would probably be much more difficult to compensate for any interruption of educational program that the child transferring among such schools experiences. These influences of the inner-city school, in addition to the nature of staff and teacher response toward mobile children, can affect the inner-city child's ability to adapt to a new school situation. His behavior and performance in school is likely to suffer.

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[56] Robert C. Walker, "Let's Set the Records Straight," The School Counselor, XVII (September, 1969), 11.

The Mobile Child and His Peers

One of the more important consequences of moving to any child is the loss of friends from both his neighborhood and school. Frequently these persons are sorely missed, for at least a short time following a move. These emotional difficulties are supplemented by the strangeness and discomfort associated with arriving in a new school and neighborhood situation. The new situation places him in close proximity to other children his own age, all of whom he does not know, who appear more aware and more "in" than himself. It may take time to learn socially accepted patterns of peer relationships in order to make friends.

Even for adults, leaving one's close friends can be an emotionally wrenching experience, and finding new ones can be a frustrating and lonely process. Groups of children can be intentionally and thoughtlessly cruel in their approach to a new child.[57] As a result, the new school or neighborhood can be perceived as a threatening situation which will cause the mobile child to experience severe tension. This would interfere with the effectiveness with which he responds to and profits from his instruction. A growing amount of evidence suggests that peer relationships are generally stronger, and thus more important, for lower income children. If this is true, the detachment from friends caused by a move may be more emotionally disturbing to them than to most children of higher income backgrounds and may interfere with their ability to establish new friendships and adjust to and accept the new situation in general.

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[57] A very familiar psychological trait is that of suspicion and hostility toward strange "outsiders," such as was observed in the behavior of chimpanzees on the Island of Tenerifa. See Wolfgang Kohler, "Zur Psychologie des Shimpanzen," Psychologische Forschung, I (1922),

Furthermore, a child's image of himself is strongly dependent upon his perception of how "significant others" evaluate him. The evaluations of others influence his concept of his abilities, as well as academic behavior.[58] For example, the Coleman Report showed how effective the adolescent peer group was in determining attitudes toward academic achievement in high school.[59] Although such evidence is less definitive regarding elementary school pupils, the notion of mobility as a dissociative experience suggests that one's self-concept is impaired, at least temporarily, during a move.

In discussing migration, Weiss states that it is "one of the most obvious instances of complete disorganization of the individual's role system, hence some disturbances of the social identity and the self image tied to the system is to be predicted. Viewed from this aspect, migration has a desocializing effect."[60] The disturbance can be viewed

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1-45 (Berlin: Zeitschrift fur allgemeine Psychologie, Ethologie und Medizinische Psychologie).

[58] Miller, Education for the Disadvantaged, pp. 63-66.

[59] U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

[60] Riuka Bar-Yosek Weiss, "Desocialization and Resocialization: The Adjustment Process of Immigrants," The International Migration Review, II (Summer, 1968), 28.

as affecting the status role complex since "the migrant . . . is ignorant of the proper definitions of the situation in which he has to participate and of the rules of social interaction; he has no grasp of the role map of others and has no clear idea about either the roles he is expected to fulfill or the opportunities for entering the roles he desires."[61] Weiss' discussion had immigrants as subjects, but would appear to be applicable to mobile school children in the inner city as well. The role disturbances encountered among children would most likely be varied, yet the perceptions a child has of how others, especially his peers, evaluate him in a new situation may have a strong impact on his self image and, in turn, on his academic performance.

Need for Response

This chapter has included a review of several research efforts which indicate effects of mobility on the school performance of the child; the subsequent discussion pointed out how the characteristics of the low income child himself and influences of his environment can reduce or augment his potential ability to adapt quickly, smoothly, and confidently to a new situation. In essence, this discussion represents an attempt to describe the effect of a condition of the inner-city environment on the child. By drawing from the perceptions of mothers of children who moved and transferred schools within the inner city, we acquired some feeling for the human elements involved--emotions, successes, peculiarities, behavior, and disappointments.

What has been shown is that a large number of possibilities are involved when the effects of moving on the urban school child are at issue. The particular combination of influences is different, both in type and degree, depending upon each child's peculiar situation. The influences are numerous. Furthermore, not all environmental influences caused by a move necessarily produce a negative effect on the child's ability to adapt. Yet the evidence accumulated suggests that the ability of the low income child to adjust to a new situation may tend to be more seriously hampered for reasons related to socio-economic status, family stress, family attitudes, school administrative problems, and so forth. Problems of adjustment can result in behavioral or withdrawal symptoms which, in turn, can affect the child's school performance.

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[61] Weiss, p. 28.

Any difficulty faced by the mobile urban school child demands a special type of response, particularly if his mobility and its attendant problems are caused by governmental action. There is a need for an individualized response to the special problems and opportunities caused by a move--a concerted attempt to remedy the former and enhance the latter through some sort of special service for those children who need it. Yet, findings in this study show little is done for them. Also, these findings can be interpreted to mean that the objectives of the relocation program, as presently administered, can be inconsistent with those of the school and that there is little being done about relieving the inconsistencies which do exist.

School Response

Nineteen of the twenty-two respondents in the Milwaukee survey indicated that they had had contact with their child's new teacher since moving. (Refer to Table 16.) The circumstances under which all of the contacts took place were the normal parent-teacher conferences in which the child's school work or behavior was discussed. Only four of the twenty-two respondents mentioned that the child received any form of special help from the new school for any adjustment difficulties. In all four cases the students were given special attention, such as help in reading or speech, at the teacher's own initiative. Four of the respondents said that the old school had helped the child prepare for the move. The substance of this "help" was in the form of class farewell parties in three cases and the teacher's telling the child about the school to which he was going to transfer.

Parental Response

Nine of the respondents said they did something special to help the child adjust to the move. One mother's method was simply explaining to the child the reasons for moving (displaced for urban renewal). Three showed the children the new house and neighborhood before the move. One parent told her child that it would take some time to get used to the new house and neighborhood. One family allowed its children to go back to the old neighborhood periodically for visits with their old friends.

In all cases, the type of help the mobile school child received took the form of a sincere gesture intended to make him feel better. Such response, however, seemed to have minimal influence on the real circumstances affecting adaptive capacity. The special help given by the parents represented the best they could do within their understanding of the problem and ability to respond. Other than through their teachers and parents, the children received no help from any other source--relatives, friends of the family, agencies, organizations. Thirteen of the respondents either did not feel it was necessary to attempt to give the child help or did not think of the need at all.

Expressed Need

The importance of some type of response, especially by those responsible for causing mobility (e.g., the relocation agency) was asserted by parents and relocation and school personnel in all four of the study cities. Seventeen of the twenty-two respondents in the Milwaukee study gave affirmative answers to the question, "Other than yourself or members of the immediate family, do you think that there is a need for someone in the school system or some other agency to provide special help or attention to school children who have moved and are trying to adjust to a new situation?" The following are some of the reasons given for these answers, each reflecting different types of problems:

> I just think it would make it easier for the kids. Most parents don't think about their kids' personal problems from changing schools. We take it for granted they should take moving in their stride. Something should be done at school to help them.
>
> It's especially important for working mothers of low-income families. We never hear anything about our children. We should have someone there at the school to help our children as a working parent. I don't have time. I'm lucky to keep going myself, but I know that somewhere along the line the kids need it.
>
> I think it's a good idea. Some kids don't want to go to new schools and move away from friends, and if someone would help them and show them around it would help them.

All of the school officials and relocation agency personnel interviewed in each of the four study cities were asked if they knew of any special programs or services, either within or outside of their own organizations, which directed attention to the adjustment of the child and made it easier for the mobile pupil to make a smooth and less burdened transition. Although all agreed that it was seriously needed, none could mention any substantial effort along these lines.

Forms of Response

The particular type of response efforts which could aid mobile students are numerous. Extension of the school year for children who have switched school during the year may be one form of response. Sending a child to a lower academic level may be another way to assure that his educational progress is not seriously affected. Bussing students who have moved within the city from their new neighborhood to the school in their previous neighborhood for the duration of the school year might also be considered. The establishment of "half-way schools" or orientation centers for transient students could allow for a more gradual transition. The wise use of minimal resources for personal counseling of students may be useful, or the use of situational groupings in which temporary membership lasts just long enough to help the child with his transitional difficulties is another response.

Simple orienting methods such as providing a student handbook, assigning a "buddy" or "brother" in the new school, or using a "hospitality" committee might be responses which are sufficient for the adjustment of many in-moving students. Parents might be instructed as to the potential difficulties a child may have during and just after a move and how they should deal with them. Speeding up the administrative transferral of student records from one school to another can be an important response. The establishment of policies which would diminish large scale redevelopment projects resulting in the demolition of existing houses and the dislocation from homes is another type of response. Policies which would encourage families to remain in the same neighborhood and school area could be useful. The provision of temporary on-site housing for a family whose permanent home is being physically rehabilitated might also be considered.

As previously stated, it is not the purpose of this research to identify what should be the substantive nature of the response to the urban school child or which response would be most effective. The discussion in this chapter, however, suggests that no one type of response will be sufficient to serve the needs of all mobile school children. Furthermore, the development and implementation of response demands that institutions cooperate with one another in establishing the nature of response and in delivering the response so it can effectively deal with the complexities of human nature and human situations. In the chapter which follows, we will look at the ability of the relocation agency and the school to interact in increasing the opportunities of urban school children who move to adapt at a more satisfying level of function.

CHAPTER IV

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND RELOCATION AGENCY

Much organizational literature expresses the need for more interorganizational relations without discussing the nature of existing relations. This chapter deals with the interaction existing between the relocation agency and the school. It is treated as a dependent activity--related to particular features of the organizations involved.

Information gathered through interviewing organizational personnel in the course of this research supports the findings of the Milwaukee study. There is little, if any, cooperative response to the mobile school child exerted by the schools and relocation agencies in any of the four cities. Since no elementary school personnel noted any contact with the relocation agency, information regarding the nature and extent of interaction was obtained primarily through interviews with relocation personnel; this information represents the respondents' personal perceptions of interaction. It is assumed that although each element or instance of exchange encountered does not necessarily represent a direct response to the child, all of the elements of interaction taken together represent the potential ability of each relocation agency to cooperate with the school in response to the child.

The greater the interaction between the school and the relocation agency, the greater the likelihood that problems and opportunities of the relocated child will be discussed; as a result, there are an increased number of chances for responses to the child to be developed out of mutual concern. This chapter explains the interaction observed between the schools and relocation agencies in terms of organizational theories and additional research findings; the explanation is based on a description of organizational elements felt to be important determinants of interaction. This information is vital if purposeful and effective cooperative relations are to be established in the future. The initial subject to be discussed is interaction--its nature and extent.

The Nature of Interaction

There are five basic forms through which interaction occurred between the relocation agency and the school: personnel acquaintance, joint membership in advisory boards or committees, referral of clients, interagency staffing sessions, and sharing of facilities or meeting space. All of the interaction was based on informal agreement. None of the forms of interaction had special reference to the area of understanding and working with mobile school children.

Personnel Acquaintance as a Form of Interaction:

The simplest form of interaction encountered was an expressed acquaintance on the part of relocation personnel with school personnel. On the surface, acquaintance may seem to be a rather tenuous indication of interorganizational relations. However, the relevance of personnel acquaintance as an interaction activity lies in the fact that any cooperation between two organizations ultimately depends on an "initial meeting and at least minimal interaction."[1] Thus two individuals, each acting as a representative of his respective organization and communicating at some point in time, is the simplest but probably the most common form of interorganizational relations.

Each respondent was asked if he were personally acquainted with any of the personnel working in the schools. If the answer was affirmative, he was asked to give both the name and the position of any personnel whom he knew. An attempt was made to distinguish between purely social acquaintance and "professional" acquaintance, and cases in the former category were eliminated from consideration.

The majority of acquaintances cited were with individual school principals, school social workers, or attendance officers. For the most part, these relationships were based on attempts of the relocation agency to: 1) inform a school of relocated students who would soon be entering; 2) check to see whether a relocated student was in attendance; or 3) get some information which would help trace a lost client. Some relocation agency respondents had little personal acquaintance with school personnel except for one or two members of the supervisory staff within the central administration office of the city school system. This latter type of acquaintance does not represent much potential ability to respond to the problems of the mobile child.

Advisory Boards and Committees as a Form of Interaction

Another type of interaction activity occurring between relocation and school personnel was service on coordinative advisory boards. Such boards or committees provide communication linkages among representatives of different agencies involved in joint programming and also represent an arena for interaction in addition to day-to-day exchange directed toward the resolution of client needs.[2]

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[1] Klonglan, "Agency Interaction Patterns," p. 94.

Each respondent was asked whether he had ever been asked to serve on a committee or board on which a member of the public school staff sat or was present. If the reply was affirmative, the respondent was asked to give the name of the group and the reasons why the request was accepted or rejected.

Most relocation directors and supervisors must attend a host of interagency coordinating meetings or community relations meetings, such as those of neighborhood groups, construction unions, health and welfare councils, civil rights organizations, youth development and opportunities boards, Model Cities agencies, Red Cross, and others. There is great likelihood that interested and involved school personnel also attend such meetings. Nevertheless, with the exception of Model Cities committees in each city, only one other advisory committee was mentioned on which both a relocation official and a school representative had served. Furthermore, the school official was there primarily because he was in charge of site acquisition and of administering relocation activities pertaining to the construction of new schools for that particular city school board. Undoubtedly, numerous situations exist in all cities where officials of the parent organization of the elementary schools (i.e., the central administration office of the school system) sit on the same committee with officials of the parent organization of the relocation agencies (i.e., the housing and redevelopment agencies of city government). The focus of such meetings, however, is on decision making and coordination at a more general level than that of meetings between "daughter" organizations like the relocation agency and neighborhood school. This concept of parallelism between organizational hierarchy and levels of generality of concern is discussed by Talcott Parsons.

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[2] Ibid., p. 100. Also see Wilensky and Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, pp. 263-264.

> Policy decisions . . . may be taken at different levels of generality with respect to the functions of the organization. The very highest level concerns decisions to set up a given organization or, conversely, to liquidate it [e.g., the housing commission, in conjunction with the school board, could decide to eliminate an elementary school or build a new one]. . . . Then the scale descends through such levels as major changes in . . . scale of operations, to the day-to-day decisions about current operation [e.g., how to deal with the transient pupil]. Broadly, this level of generality scale coincides with a scale of time-span of the relevance of decisions; the ones touching the longer-run problems of the organization tend to be the ones on a higher level of generality, involving a wider range of considerations and leading to more serious commitments.[3]

When coordination occurs between organizations at such high levels, it is important; however, it is not the type of interorganizational interaction with which we are concerned here. Just as important is coordination at lower levels of organizational hierarchy where programs and services actually meet the consumer.[4] This analysis succeeded in detecting only a minimal amount of interaction at this level between the school and relocation agency via the channel of interorganizational boards and committees for the purpose of responding directly to the needs of the client.

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[3] Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach," 76.

[4] See Introduction, pp. 3-4.

Client Referral as a Form of Interaction

The most prevalent type of interaction activities occurring among the organizations studied was the referral of clients. Klonglan *et al.* make a statement regarding referral activities which is useful for this discussion:

> There does not appear to be anything inherent in the client referral process that makes it an exchange activity. Only a vague awareness of the existence of another agency and what services it provides may be sufficient information for referrals to be made. . . . It may also be argued that in *most* cases client referral involves more than a vague awareness of another agency. Client referral often involves providing transportation between agencies, setting up appointments for clients, discussing needs of the client with personnel of the other agency, and exchanging information that will help make the services of each agency complementary.[5]

Most relocation referrals can be classified in the latter category. The act of referring a client from one agency to another for particular services fulfills organizational objectives, since the primary goal for most agencies is to provide services to the client. When the relocation agency recognizes that another agency is better prepared to meet special needs of a client than itself, the client is normally referred. Complementary discussion of and planning for the provision of special services by two organizations is a type of interaction which probably has more direct client benefits than most other forms of exchange.

Since it is difficult for an agency worker to recall exactly the number of past referrals made and rare for agencies to keep such records, the relocation staff members and directors were asked to estimate the number of referrals made between the schools and their respective agencies during the past year. Some of the questions dealt with whether or not the relocation organization ever refers children of clients who are to move to other agencies or persons to get help specifically for their adjustment and/or educational problems. Also, a more directed question about whether "your organization ever referred children to the public school" was asked. Most agencies interviewed referred cases with adjustment or educational problems to the public welfare agency, medical treatment clinics, health care centers, and religious groups, as well as schools. The amount of direct referral to schools was meager, ranging from no referrals at all for one agency to as many as ten referrals per year for another.

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[5] Klonglan, "Agency Interaction Patterns," pp. 105-106.

In interpreting these responses it must be remembered that the estimates represent perceptions, and sometimes vague ones, of referral activity with the schools and may only be rough approximations of actual referral interaction. Furthermore, the estimates reflect perceptions of referral activity from persons in each single relocation office. While agencies in some cities had only one location, centralized relocation agencies (Detroit and Minneapolis) had several field offices. Personnel in not more than two offices of each relocation organization in any city were interviewed. Therefore the actual amount of referral activity occurring in Detroit and Minneapolis is undoubtedly greater than that estimated here from the perspective of respondents in only one or two offices.

Interagency Staffing Sessions as a Form of Interaction

In many cases relocation personnel attend periodic meetings with workers of other service agencies in order to discuss the needs of particular clients, formulate integrated service-delivery plans, and assess the progress of clients. These staffing sessions frequently provide the best opportunity for developing coordinate responses to clients and interagency exchanges of information. Although this form of interaction is familiar to many relocation personnel, this study gathered evidence of only one relocation staff member participating in such a meeting with personnel from the public schools.

Exchange of Facilities as a Form of Interaction

After each respondent was asked about specific types of interaction, he was asked to name any other forms of exchange that may have occurred. In three cities, school facilities were shared. In one city, the use of the school for periodic meetings was arranged by informal agreement between the relocation supervisor and school principal. In another city, the exchange agreement was more formal; the parent organization of the relocation agency paid rent to the board of education for use of school facilities for public meetings. The relocation service agency in still another city used school space for conducting home economics instruction and youth counseling sessions. Although these forms of interaction activity are not in direct response to the special needs of the mobile child, they do represent the ability of the relocation agency and school to interact, and they serve as additional bases from which responsive interaction can develop.

The Extent of Interaction

The frequency of occurrences of interaction activities falling into specific categories has been discussed in the previous section. The basic measure of the dependent property or variable in this research is the interaction index. This index measures the extent to which interaction activities have occurred between each relocation agency and the public schools of the city within which it operates. The index is a composite score computed for each relocation agency and based on the amounts of all types of exchange relationships with the schools just described. The procedure used in computing the scores is described in Appendix C.

The interaction index incorporates data on all forms of interaction observed between the school and relocation agency. Although it obscures the differences among separate forms of interaction, it signifies the intensity of interaction between the two types of organizations over approximately a year's time. Table 17 shows the interaction scores for each relocation agency. The primary reason for using the composite score instead of scores for each form of interaction is based on an assumption about the nature of interaction activities used by Klonglan *et al*. The assumption is that any one form of interaction is not independent of other forms of interaction. The perceived costs and benefits of interaction between organizations at any one point in time "affect willingness to become involved in another exchange activity at another point in time."[6] For example, the move on the part of the relocation agency to engage in referral activity with the school may be

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[6] *Ibid*., pp. 136-138.

TABLE 17

INTERACTION SCORES[a] OF RELOCATION ORGANIZATIONS IN FOUR CITIES

City and Relocation Agency[b] (Abbreviated Title)	Form of Interaction							
	Acquaintance	Acquaintance Frequency	Advisory Board	Referrals	Staffing Sessions	Training	Other Exchanges	Interaction Index
Minneapolis-Centralized Relocation	2	1	4	8	0	0	7	22
Milwaukee-Therapy Service, Inc.	3	1	4	3	0	0	7	18
Detroit-Central Relocation Office	8	1	4	0	0	0	4	17
Milwaukee-Midtown Service Center	5	3	0	0	5	0	0	13
Cleveland-Department of Community Development	1	1	4	0	0	0	0	6
Cleveland-Metropolitan Housing Authority	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	6
Cleveland-State Highway Department	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
Milwaukee-County Park Commission	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Milwaukee-County Expressway Commission	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

[a] The methods by which the various scores were calculated are detailed in Appendix C, pp. 297-299.

[b] The Board of Education of Detroit Public Schools is responsible for relocating families displaced for the purpose of school facility construction. Since in this unique case response to the mobile child is dependent on interaction within the Detroit Public School System, the Board is not included in the table. Ironically, there was no evidence of interaction occurring between the Board of Education and individual schools for the purpose with which this study is concerned.

Source: Interviews with relocation personnel conducted by the author.

dependent upon past and anticipated commitments of the school to exchange information. In light of scarce resources, an organization will have to seriously consider the various forms of interaction it is able to engage in as well. Variations in interaction will be discussed in relation to organizational properties in the following section.

The interaction indices among the several organizations providing relocation services ranged from zero to twenty-two. The maximum possible score was approximately seventy-eight. Centralized relocation agencies exhibited the highest amounts of interaction, while those agencies which operated on a "project decentralized" basis had the least interaction.

Interactive Capacity: An Interpretive Analysis

In Chapter I it was hypothesized that the nature and extent of interaction depends on both the interactive capacity and innovative capacity of organizations (as defined in this study) involved in the exchange.[7] A description of the interactive capacity of the two types of organizations exposes some clues pertaining to the fundamental nature of interaction which occurs.

It has been suggested that the propensity for two or more organizations to interact depends upon their accessibility to resources outside the local system, their particular objectives and functions, and their consensus regarding domain.[8] The following section will direct attention to these three characteristics as they exist in the schools and relocation agencies studied.

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[7] See Chapter I, pp. 39-42.

[8] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 583-597.

Inner-city Environmental Demand for Organizational Interdependence

Both the relocation agency and the public school carrying out activities within the inner city find themselves limited in their efforts due to the pronounced fiscal and physical resource deterioration of the central city. The general financial problems cities face are serious. The out-migration of business and professional populations, the entrance of more economically disadvantaged populations, the demand for costlier services, the dwindling tax base, biased state-aid formulae, and inadequate Federal aid are some of the major reasons that the city environment is left with less than sufficient resources for meeting its needs. Most organizations and institutions must look elsewhere, either beyond their own organizational boundaries or to higher levels, for aid.

Organizations use various resources to attain their ends; money, equipment, skill, manpower, physical facilities, and knowledge. Existing resources in any one community can potentially be put to use for a wide range of purposes. For example, both manpower and money can be utilized to develop a compensatory education program or to construct a new school building. Resources are controlled by different organizations within a local system. When such resources are scarce, it becomes necessary for the organization to rely on other organizations within the local system or organizations outside the local system.[9] For example, the public school which may be suffering from a lack of qualified personnel due to a deficient amount of financial resources may utilize the services of a staff member from a local public health agency as a part-time nurse. On the other hand, a school may donate the use of its gymnasium for a recreation program sponsored by a local YMCA.

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[9] Gouldner stresses the need to understand the relative dependence of parts of a system on the other parts of the system. See Alvin W. Gouldner, "Reciprocity and Autonomy in Functional Theory," in Symposium on Sociological Theory, ed. by Llewellyn Gross (Evanston,

Resources can be competed for by a number of different agencies which serve a variety of objectives. For example, should any organization desire to add new programs or expand existing services, it would normally have to find support from and make exchanges with other organizations which have the needed resources available.[10] It can be assumed that when operating within an environment where limited resources are available, organizations are likely to develop greater interdependence with one another in order to gain resources. On the other hand, it has been hypothesized that organizations having access to resources outside the local system would have less propensity to seek out and interact with other local organizations.

Access to Outside Resources

Organizations operating within any system possess different degrees of autonomy; some may be relatively dependent on other organizations, lacking access to elements outside the local system (at the regional or national level), while others which have access to such

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Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1959), pp. 241-270.

[10] See Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 583-587; Litwak and Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Coordinating Agencies," 395-420; and Norton E. Long, "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (November, 1968), 251-261.

elements may be relatively independent and functionally autonomous. Some organizations are "vertically linked";[11] that is, they are connected to high level extensions of their own organizations or governments, e.g., city-wide, state, or Federal branches, and can obtain the necessary elements from these "parent" organizations. By not actively entering into exchange relationships with other organizations on the local level, they can better maintain their essential structure and avoid the consequences of changing state or national goals.

Organizations which are more "community-centered" or "horizontally linked" may delegate authority upward to the state or national level, but they are primarily dependent on the local organizational system for obtaining resources. In particular, both the relocation agencies and the public schools are more autonomous and less dependent on other local level organizations because of their access to higher levels, primarily the relocation agency with city government administration and the Federal level, and the public school with the city school administration and the state.[12] The relocation agency was created in response to and continues to serve primarily Federal urban renewal, highway, and housing legislation, while the school is closely dependent on state educational bureaucracy for financial resources, administrative and curriculum guides, and other aids and controls.

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[11] See Warren, The Community in America and Sills, The Volunteers.

[12] See Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Relocation: Unequal Treatment of People and Businesses; Lawrence Iannaconi, Politics of Education (Center for Applied Research on Education, 1967); and Nicholas Masters, et al., State Politics and the Public Schools (New York: Knopf, 1964).

The School

The public school of a large city system possesses access to a number of different types of resources via the central administrative and policy-making bodies of the school system. The city system in turn receives policy directives, financial aid, technical assistance, new ideas for innovative programs, facilities, and equipment from the state government as well as the Federal government. Such resources are usually funneled from the state or Federal level through the local administrative office to selected schools within the local system. One way of observing the access of a school system to outside resources is to look at the proportion of revenue it absorbs from sources other than those on the local level. Table 18 presents such information for the four study cities.

Relocation Agency

In general, each of the relocation agencies studied has high amounts of access to outside resources. This characteristic has much to do with the fact that such agencies were first created for providing assistance to families or individuals displaced solely by Federally aided improvement projects--initially urban renewal and later programs such as Federally-aided highways, housing rehabilitation, and open space development. Relocation agencies were, in essence, created by Federal legislation. Each relocation agency examined in this study received at least an estimated sixty-seven percent of its income from the Federal level of government. Several received as much as ninety percent income from the Federal level. The differences are largely attributable to the particular types of development projects for which each agency is

TABLE 18

SCHOOL DISTRICT REVENUE ACCESSIBILITY
General Revenue
(dollar amounts in thousands)

	Taxes		Intergovernmental Revenue[a]	
	$	% of total	$	% of total
Detroit	83,207	40.9	105,290	51.7
Minneapolis	29,782	62.2	15,295	31.9
Cleveland	65,970	73.8	18,158	20.3
Milwaukee	55,479	63.9	28,652	33.0

[a] Includes revenue from Federal and state governments and from other local governments.

Source: 1967 Census of Governments, Finances of School Districts, Table 8.

responsible and the proportion of Federal aids to these projects. For example, the agency providing relocation assistance only to those displaced by an Interstate highway project, which is ninety percent aided by the Federal government, reflects a similar proportion of its operating budget from that source.

Recently an increasing number of states and local governments have made provisions for the allowance of relocation assistance and payments to those persons displaced by projects initiated on the state and local levels.[13] In the case of centralized relocation agencies which are responsible for assisting persons displaced due to a variety of types of development projects--i.e., highways, urban renewal, city code enforcement, city parking lot development, and so forth--the proportion of the budget emanating from the Federal government is closer to sixty-seven percent with most of the remaining funds coming from the local government.

Other indications of the access of relocation agencies to resources outside the local system are the presence of numerous state and Federal technical assistance memoranda, state and Federal policies and guidelines for providing relocation assistance, and communication between local relocation directors and persons representing agencies such as state departments of highways, Federal Housing Administration district offices, the Department of Housing and Urban Development regional office, and Federal Bureau of Public Roads.[14] Most respondents indicated that they had either face-to-face contact or contact via telephone with such persons from two to six times per month.

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[13] Robert P. Groberg, Centralized Relocation: A New Municipal Service, pp. 5-13.

[14] More unobtrusive evidence such as this, although gathered less systematically, represents a valid indication of an organization's accessibility linkages. See Eugene Webb, *et al.*, Unobtrusive Measures:

Some Limitations of Possessing Vertical Access

It must be remembered that high accessibility to resources, especially at the state or national level, also means that the local agency will have to perform its duties within a particular framework, for its particular objectives are rather well defined by higher authorities. Although they exist to assure certain standards of performance, many times particular state or national policies can constrain the ability of the local organization to perform its function in the best way it knows how. Due to the public auspices of both the school and relocation agency and their ties with state and Federal hierarchies of control, they must abide by a mass of regulations and the dictates of supervisory personnel issued at all levels.[15] For example, a director of relocation in one city was frequently frustrated because he felt that interpretation of relocation requirements was "entirely too strict" on the part of the Federal government. In turn, his philosophy was one of never asking questions of the Department of Housing and Urban Development unless it was *absolutely* necessary. Although possessing access to resources is a benefit, the conditions under which those resources can be used can sometimes keep organizations like the school or relocation agency from doing more than what is required. In essence, the school and relocation agencies can be relatively autonomous in their quest for

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Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

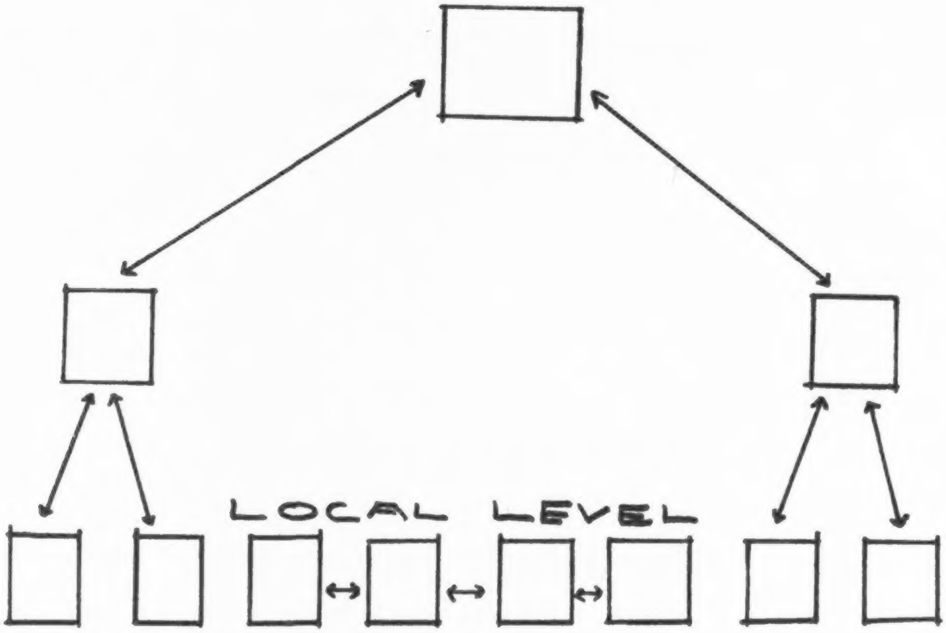
[15] Wilensky and Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, p. 246.

resources on the local level, but are dependent on higher levels.

In contrast, organizations which are relatively independent from controls of higher levels cannot benefit from outside resources either, and must work more to gain the approval and support of other organizations at the local level (See Figure 5).

FIGURE 5

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL DEPENDENCIES



It may be quite costly for them to take this action, particularly in terms of the derivation of goals. Bargaining, co-option, and coalition are means of gaining support, but each allows other agencies to exert influence on goal-setting, and sometimes this may mean a significant altering of organizational objectives.[16] Because of their public auspices and high accessibility to resources from outside the local system, however, the relocation agencies and schools are less prone to become involved with other organizations on the local level.[17] For this reason, they have little propensity to interact with each other, although this situation does not negate their potential for forming relationships for other reasons.

Organizational Functions

An organization's function is a set of interrelated services or activities that are instrumental, or believed to be instrumental, to the realization of its organizational objectives.[18] The functions of an organization represent the means by which its resources are used and also determine the degree of dependence on other organizations for specific kinds of resources, as well as its own ability to provide particular resources to other organizations.[19] An organization's function determines its need for exchange elements. Levine and White found, within the health organization complex, that those organizations whose efforts are oriented toward treatment of individual clients showed higher rates of interaction with other organizations than did organizations whose efforts are more directed toward the general public in providing broader, informative-type public services.[20] Health organizations which exist to provide individualized services to people would be more likely to send or to receive referrals. On the other hand, a local branch of the American Cancer Society, whose main purpose is to educate the public, would have much less need to interact with other organizations.

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[16] James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal-Setting as an Interaction Process," American Sociological Review, XXIII (February, 1958), 23-25.

[17] They would be more able to maintain their essential structure and avoid any consequences of the displacement of national or state goals. See Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 590.

[18] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 586. The terms "relocation" and "education" represent different functions. To Mooney, functionalism means the distinction between kinds of duties. While discussing the inadequacies of functional organizations under contemporary conditions of environmental change, Carlisle emphasizes some predominant traits of "function." The traits of functional organizations described by Carlisle are similar to those in organizations which Warren would categorize as operating within the "unitary context." See: James D. Mooney, The Principles of Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), pp. 9-10; Howard M. Carlisle, "Are Functional Organizations Becoming Obsolete?" Management Review, LVIII (January, 1969), 2-9); and Warren, "The Interorganizational Field," 404.

Sets of Interrelated Activities

Both the public school and the relocation agency are involved in carrying out quite a wide assortment of related activities. These activities reflect the particular interest of each type of organization in its respective client.

Interviewees from both types of organizations were asked to respond to seventeen items representing categories of service activities in terms of the degree of his organization's involvement in each activity. (See Question #9 on interview schedule, Appendix B, page 269.) Each respondent was asked to what extent his organization offered each of the services. The respondent was asked to reply using one of the five following answers: (1) always, (2) often, (3) sometimes, (4) seldom, and (5) never. A Likert-type scale was used to measure the degree of involvement in the various service activities of each type of organization. Each of the five possible answers was assigned a different numerical value--those shown above. In order to compare the relocation agency and the public school regarding each functional activity, the average score was computed for each organization type (responses from ten relocation agencies and twelve elementary schools).[21]

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[19] The concept of functional interdependence is discussed by Levine and White. See also Litwak and Hylton, "Interorganizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Coordinating Agencies," 395-426.

[20] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Interorganizational Relationships," pp. 592-597.

Table 19 on page 166 indicates that the primary activity of the relocation agencies is locating clients and maintaining public relations. Other activities rated to be important by relocation personnel were family and individual counseling, referral of clients, provision of economic assistance, and coordinating with other agencies. Relocation gave relatively little attention to recreational activities, medical treatment and health services, and psychological services except through referral.

More specifically, programs and services offered by the relocation agencies studied included locating and inspecting available housing for individuals and families; furnishing transportation for families who could not afford to travel around to see and choose among available housing; paying moving expenses; paying mortgages; making moving arrangements; providing real estate, legal advice, and homemaking services; referring to numerous types of social service and health organizations; and assisting with the technicalities of applying for low-rent assistance.[22]

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[21] The reader must be cautioned not to rely too heavily on the results of this measurement which must be considered highly tenuous since bias may have been introduced due to the possible unrepresentativeness of the sample of respondents, the variability of the respondents' perceptions, their mood at the time of the interview, the nature of conditions under which the interview was administered, the lack of clarity of meaning for the seventeen activities, and possible error in statistical computation. Despite the crudeness of technique, these measures are roughly indicative of what the respondents perceived the functions of their agencies to be, and they allow comparison of the two organization types. The technique has obscured functional variations among organizations within each organization type.

The primary activity of the schools was providing educational services. (See Table 19) The schools also seemed to place heavy emphasis on the maintenance of public relations and mobilization of community support. The elementary schools had little to do with providing transportation services and housing services.

The programs and services offered by the inner-city schools examined in this study included remedial reading, special language development courses, speech training, psychological services, social development counseling, guidance counseling, recreation programs, lunch programs, tutorial services, medical and health nurse services, dental clinic, special programmed learning techniques, pre-school programs, and others.

All of these activities performed by both the school and relocation agency represent their orientation in serving individuals. A review of the "activity sets" of both organizations, however, suggests that the chance for their interacting based on function is less than what Levine and White's analysis would indicate.[23] For example, areas of greatest disparity between the schools and relocation agencies are in educational, recreational, and health services, where the school is more involved, and in the provision of housing and transportation services, where relocation has greater involvement. (See Table 19) Their sets of activities seem to be less compatible for interaction.

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[22] An extensive review of the diverse activities carried out by a relocation agency is found in Alvin A. Mermin, Relocating Families: The New Haven Experience (Washington: National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, 1970).

Conditioners of Function

Although this discussion is based on Levine and White's notion that sets of interrelated activities are important in determining the range of possibilities for exchange among organizations, their standards for organizational comparison, based on how much organizations are oriented toward serving individual needs, are too general and somewhat unclear for our purposes. Both the relocation agency and public school serve individuals, but their activities are conditioned by the purpose they are meant to serve, the skills or process utilized in carrying them out, the clients towards whom they are directed, the auspices under which they are administered, and the geographic jurisdiction for which they are intended.[24] These five items influence possibilities for exchange among organizations, too. Although they both serve individuals, relocation and school organizations can and do differ with respect to these more

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[23] This statement is in reference to the notion that organizations which are oriented toward servicing individuals are more likely to be involved with outside organizations than are organizations which serve a broader community educative purpose or some other community-wide function.

[24] Wilensky and Lebeaux list these five "bases for specialization" in social welfare which are applicable in clarifying the meaning of function. See Wilensky and Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, p. 248.

TABLE 19

ACTIVITY INVOLVEMENT INDICATORS OF RELOCATION AGENCIES AND SELECTED PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN CLEVELAND, OHIO; DETROIT, MICHIGAN; MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN; MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA--1970

Organizational Activities	Relocation Agencies	Public Schools	Greater Involvement
Locating Clients	1.80[a]	2.50	R
Individual Counseling	2.10	2.20	R
Family Counseling	2.00	2.16	R
Job Placement	3.50	3.25	S
Medical/Health Treatment	3.70	2.37	S
Economic Assistance	2.10	3.00	R
Psychological Services	3.50	2.75	S
Educational Services	3.20	1.00	S
Recreational Services	4.50	2.37	S
Housing Services	2.60	3.87	R
Transportation Services	2.40	4.25	R
Referral of Clients	2.00	2.25	R
Follow-up on Clients	2.11	2.12	R
Coordinating/Consulting with Other Agencies	2.10	2.14	R
Maintaining Public Relations	1.88	1.25	S
Educating the Public	3.00	2.37	S
Mobilizing Community Support	2.87	1.75	S

[a] Average scores range from one to five. Lower values indicate greater involvement.

Source: Interviews with relocation personnel conducted by the author.

subtle "shapers" of organizational function.

For example, the relocation agency provides personal assistance to individuals and families, but little interaction with another organization (e.g., schools) might be expected where its purpose is defined narrowly (i.e., to pay moving expenses to displacees), where its authority to spend reflects single-purpose operations, where the client is seen as the head of the household, and where its geographic orientation is a small project area. On the other hand, a relocation agency which interprets the purpose of its function more broadly (i.e., to improve the total living situation and aid in the adjustment of a displaced family in a new setting), which sees its client as the family and all its members, and which has city-wide authority to operate, would tend to have greater involvement with other organizations whose specialized skills could complement those of the relocation staff in serving the variety of family needs.

"Interest in Client" as a Function

Lefton and Rosengren have produced a schema which takes such differences into account. It can be used to distinguish further the "propensity for interorganizational collaboration" to occur within a service organization framework--those organizations which serve individual clients.[25] It proceeds from the premise that organizations may have varying amounts of concern with their clients along two major dimensions--longitudinal and lateral.

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[25] Mark Lefton and William R. Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients: Lateral and Longitudinal Dimensions," American Sociological Review, XXXI (December, 1966), 802-810.

> Organizations have contrasting interests in their clients. Furthermore, these organizational interests in the 'client biography' may range from a highly truncated span of time as, for example, in the emergency room of a general hospital to an almost indeterminate span of time as in a long-term psychiatric facility or a chronic illness hospital. There is, moreover, a second range of interests which considers the client not in terms of biographical time, but rather in terms of biographical space. That is, organizations may have an interest in only a limited aspect of the client as a person--as in the case of a short-term general hospital, whereas other organizations may have a more extended interest in who the client is as a product of and participant in society--as in the case of a psychiatric out-patient clinic.[26]

The conceptual scheme proposed by Lefton and Rosengren facilitates direct comparison of the public school and relocation agency.

The public school has a relatively continuous longitudinal interest in the pupil, as well as a broad lateral interest. The elementary school has an interest in any one pupil for a period of at least six years and is responsible for a broad array of socialization tasks.

> Stimulating and guiding the unfolding of cognitive development and the acquisition of information about past, present and future is a fantastically expanding task in itself. In addition, there are the interdependent responsibilities for social-emotional growth and development, movement toward selecting and preparing for occupational and sex roles, the nurturance of physical health, and the development of leisure time interests and of motivation and skills in the area of citizenship.[27]

The primary function of the school is, of course, the provision of educational services to individuals which guide them in their social and intellectual development. The following selection of objectives set forth by school principals interviewed attests to this contention:

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[26] Ibid., p. 805.

[27] Ronald Lippett, "Improving the Socialization Process," in Change in Schools Systems, ed. by Goodwin Watson, p. 48. See also Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society," Harvard Educational Review, XXIX (Fall, 1959), 297-318.

School Objectives:

1. To develop each child to his full potential, to develop his interest and desire to learn.
2. To help each child achieve his academic potential.
3. To provide an educational background for children which will help them to enter society.
4. To improve the mental capacity of children, so that they may become better citizens.

The success with which the school serves its primary function strongly depends on its ability to service the varying and sporadic needs of children; therefore the school must become involved in attendant activities such as the preparation of meals, the delivery of health care, the supervision of recreational activities, and the administration of justice, among others. This broad interest in its clients demands, at least periodically, cooperation with other organizations which possess certain resources that can make the school program more effective and its goals more attainable, e.g., city recreation department, YMCA, local food outlets, welfare department, public health agencies, and so forth.

The relocation agency has a rather short interest in its clients in a longitudinal sense. In most cases, the relocation agencies studied were concerned with displacees through the duration of a time span somewhat parallel to a "house-hunting" period for each client. This time span usually ranged anywhere between one week to six months. The lateral interest of relocation agencies in the clients varied among those studied. The variety of lateral interest is evidenced in the following selected responses of relocation directors which briefly describe their feeling regarding the objectives of their service.

Relocation Objectives:

1. To follow the provisions of the law regarding relocation; to see that people are given relocation payment for which they qualify and informed of the benefits to which they are entitled.
2. To place every family, individual, and business in decent, safe and sanitary housing within their income range.
3. To provide each person displaced with moving expenses; and to address the special needs, desires and aspirations of people served so that they may achieve a better position in society.
4. To insure that displaced families are not as "bad off" as they were previously.

The reasons for this variation seem to be a key factor in explaining variations in the extent of their relations with the public school. They will be discussed in Chapter V.

* * * * *

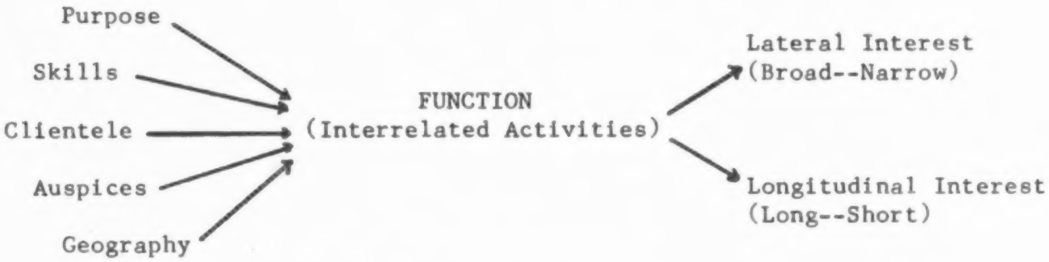
In this section the functions of the school and relocation agency have been examined. Function was viewed as an interrelated set of services and activities; the interpretation of function for any single organization was seen to be conditioned by its purpose, skills, clientele, auspices, and geographic orientation. These "conditioners" of function in turn seem to shape the longitudinal and lateral interest an organization has in carrying out its activities in relation to its clients (See Figure 6 on page 171).

According to Lefton and Rosengren, those organizations with longer-term interests and/or broader lateral interests in common are more likely to seek cooperation with other service organizations to realize their objectives.[28] Thus, in accordance with this notion, the closer both the public elementary school and the relocation agency come to having long-term interests and broader lateral interests in their respective clients, the more liable they are to pay attention to the mobile child.

When the school and relocation agencies are compared using the longitudinal/lateral typology, they seem to be relatively incompatible for interaction. The school possesses a long-term and broad lateral interest in the child, while the relocation agency possesses a short-term and varied lateral interest in the displacee. There are indications drawn from the findings of this study, however, which suggest that the broadness of interest the relocation agency exhibits toward its clients has something to do with the amount of cooperation it has with other organizations. They will be discussed in Chapter V.

FIGURE 6

CONCEPTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTION


Purpose
Skills
Clientele
Auspices
Geography
FUNCTION
(Interrelated Activities)
Lateral Interest
(Broad--Narrow)
Longitudinal Interest
(Long--Short)

Domain Consensus

The third factor which is expected to be related to the occurrence of interaction activities between the relocation agency and the public school is the extent to which domain consensus exists. Domain consensus exists between two organizations when each agrees with, or accepts, the professed "domain" of the other as legitimate. There will be no exchange of elements between two organizations which either do not know of or do not recognize the existence of one another.

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[28] Lefton and Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients," pp. 808-809.

Domain is the subjective notion of an organization's function on the part of other "outside" organizations. An organization's perception of the function of another organization is influenced by what the outside organization knows of its purpose, skills, clientele, auspices and geographic orientation. Thus the potential for two organizations to interact is somewhat dependent on each's image and knowledge of the other's function. Also, interaction is dependent on whether the images and knowledge held are positive or negative (See Figure 7 on page 173).

As stated by Levine and White, "the goals of the organization constitute in effect the organization's claim to future functions, whereas the present or actual functions carried out by the organization constitute de facto claims to these elements."[29] Therefore, exchange agreements depend upon prior consensus regarding domain. It is assumed that both the relocation agency and the public school, being public agencies with distinctive legal jurisdictions (thus receiving some semblance of public understanding of function) and different primary objectives (thus reducing the chances for the formation of negative images based on competition), agree regarding each other's legitimate claim to undertaking certain functions and pursuing particular goals.

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[29] Levine and White, "Exchange as a Conceptual Framework," 597.

FIGURE 7

PERCEPTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL FUNCTION
AND POTENTIAL FOR DOMAIN CONSENSUS

		KNOWLEDGE OF FUNCTION	
		CORRECT INFORMATION (OR) UNDERSTANDING	WRONG INFORMATION (OR) MIS UNDERSTANDING
IMPRESSION OF FUNCTION	POSITIVE	HIGH	UNLIMITED
	NEGATIVE	LOW	UNLIMITED

Although the gathering of information which determined the nature of domain consensus existing between the two organization types was shallow, somewhat superficial, and relied on the perceptions of only the school principals and agency directors, the findings are interesting. As expected, the domain of the school as seen by relocation officials was accepted. The function of the school, the need for the school's functions, and the school's right to perform those functions are recognized and respected not only by the respondents but by most persons in our society. These findings are of less than earth-shattering magnitude.

The domain of the relocation agency, however, could not be determined from the perspective of the schools. None of the personnel interviewed in any school knew of the existence of a relocation agency, and none could sufficiently describe the function of the relocation agency after it was mentioned. Such results seem to represent a manifestation of the familiar notion that schools remain relatively isolated and detached from other community institutions.[30]

Furthermore, each of the schools was located in an area which had been recently or was soon to be affected by major public improvement projects; thus they were schools which should have been somewhat acquainted with the relocation function. One principal thought the relocation agency to be synonymous with the Model Cities Program; his school was located within a Model Cities area and was actively participating in the program. Another principal honestly stated that he had no contact with any relocation agency and did not realize it existed. A school social worker knew that the city government had to find emergency housing for families "hit" by urban renewal but knew no more. One elderly principal actually gazed out the window of his office toward a three-block area cleared for urban renewal and wondered why his student population was decreasing. He did not know the purpose for which the area had been cleared. Another principal stated that he never heard of such an agency (relocation), but if one existed it should be concerned with resettling families. Another principal did not know who was responsible for providing relocation services, but stated that "they do a poor job and don't care about their clients."

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[30] Miles, "Some Properties of Schools," p. 4.

Assuming that the principals and social workers of those schools interviewed knew more than anyone else in their respective schools about relationships with other organizations, these findings are somewhat of a surprise. They indicate that any interaction occurring between those schools and relocation agencies studied in the four cities was unilateral. The interaction was from the relocation agency toward the school. Most of all, they indicate that the school took no initiative to prepare itself, or to prepare another school, for receiving, placing and guiding the child who was transferring schools. Finally, there was little chance for domain consensus, let alone interaction, between the school and relocation agencies since the school officials interviewed had no image or knowledge of the relocation organization.

* * * * *

The propensity for interaction to occur between the school and relocation organizations has been discussed in the previous section, as indicated by an interpretative analysis of their accessibility to resources outside the local system, their objectives and functions, and their degree of domain consensus. The analysis shows that there is little propensity for interaction to occur when these elements of interactive capacity are considered by themselves. Both organizations have vertical access to resources; both have different orientations toward their clients, and one organization fails to recognize the existence of the other.

Analysis of Relationships Between Interaction and Selected Organizational Properties

Innovation and Interaction: Cause or Effect?

The following section will discuss how other organizational features influence interaction. A major premise set forth in Chapter I was that the innovative capacity of an organization will act as a condition intervening between certain structural properties and the interorganizational relations which occur.[31] Although this is what much organizational literature indicates, according to the findings of this study there seems to be little relationship between innovativeness and interaction.

The findings suggest that it is more valid to postulate that where agencies are public and are vertically attached to larger policymaking bureaucracies, innovation is more closely related to new policies and programs emanating from above than to internal organizational characteristics. Literature which supports the original hypothesis is cited in the following discussion; however, it should be remembered that the bulk of organizations analyzed by this literature are non-public and/or possess much less vertical attachment to higher levels than the school and relocation agency.

In this study it was found that innovation, as measured by the number of new programs implemented by the relocation agencies and schools in the previous year, was associated with their vertical relationships with state and national levels of government. Most of the new programs were initiated due to amended or newly-created state or national legislation. Similarly, some of the interaction of a formalized nature, in the form of joint programs between the relocation agency, the school, and other community institutions, was encouraged by outside forces such as the Model Cities program.

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[31] See Chapter I, pp. 40-41.

Internal organizational characteristics, however, still seem to have something to do with interaction. Ongoing joint programs, as well as the informal types of interaction observed between the relocation organization and the elementary school were associated with internal structural characteristics of the relocation agency.

Since the data used in this study were gathered at one point in time, it is not possible to determine causation: that is, whether particular organizational characteristics led organizations to various amounts of cooperation, or whether those experiences gained from interaction produced a significant change in the internal structural characteristics of the organization. Since no very intensive interaction was observed between any relocation agency and the schools, the author believes that the first type of causation is the more realistic assumption; however, although much of the analysis in the remainder of this report will reflect such reasoning, the reader should remember that the particular direction of influence cannot be proved conclusively. In actuality there are systematic feedbacks occurring between the two types of causation. The logical sequencing of this feedback system will be suggested here, although it should be regarded in light of the above qualifications.[32]

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[32] Aiken and Hage, "The Relationship Between Organizational Factors and the Acceptance of New Rehabilitation Programs in Mental Retardation," pp. 79-80.

The final portion of this chapter discusses how certain internal properties of the relocation agencies are related to the interaction occurring between the relocation agencies and the school. Because the internal characteristics of all the schools studied were found to be so similar, as well as not conducive to encouraging interaction, they can explain little about the interaction which was observed. These characteristics of the school will be discussed in Chapter V.

The structural properties of relocation agencies to be analyzed are those three mentioned in the hypotheses: complexity, decentralization, and formalization. They will be discussed in relation to the variations observed in the nature and extent of interorganizational cooperation. Much of the following discussion of these three features is based on review of the literature and the past and current research of Aiken and Hage.[33]

Organizational Complexity

The complexity of an organization refers to the specialization of jobs, the degree of extra-organizational training and exposure, and the degree of professional activity. All organizations have individuals who work to achieve their goals, but they differ considerably in the number of different occupations, the calibre of training, and the professionalization of the workers.

Wilson suggests that the more complex or diverse an organization, the more innovative it will be in inventing and proposing changes.[34] Hage and Aiken found that the number of occupational specialties in sixteen welfare agencies in a large midwestern metropolitan area was positively related to their amounts of program change.[35] Furthermore, in a case study of a community hospital, it was discovered that the introduction of a new occupational specialty was most readily accepted in medical departments where there was a higher proportion of specialists.[36]

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[33] See the following works of Hage and Aiken: Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties"; Hage and Aiken, Social Change in Complex Organizations; Aiken and Hage, "Organizational Interdependence and Intra-Organizational Structure"; and Jerald Hage, "An Axiomatic Theory of Organizations," Administrative Science Quarterly, X (December, 1965), 289-320.

The more diffuse the occupational specialties in an organization, the greater the diversity of viewpoints which reflect a variety of professional or occupational perspectives. There is a greater chance for change to occur under these conditions than within a more homogeneous group of occupations. Expertise in any specialty requires training and experience. The more professional training one has, and the more professionally active he is, the greater his access to new and different types of information from outside the organization.[37]

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[34] James Q. Wilson, "Innovation in Organization," pp. 195-216. Wilson mentions that there are three stages of innovation: a conception of a need for change, a proposal for change to be made, and implementation of the proposed change. When an organization possesses a "diverse task structure," he believes that it will have a greater probability of conceiving and proposing major innovations.

[35] Aiken and Hage, "The Relationship Between Organizational Factors and the Acceptance of New Rehabilitation Programs in Mental Retardation," pp. 14-18.

[36] John Butler and Jerald Hage, "Physician Attitudes Toward a Hospital Program in Medical Education," *Journal of Medical Education*, XLI (October, 1966), 913-946.

[37] See Peter Blau, *Dynamics of Bureaucracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 248; Hilton Buley, "Personal Characteristics and Staff Patterns Associated with the Quality of Education" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1947);

Professional activity of members functions as a communications link between the organization, its competitors, and centers of knowledge, thus serving as a source for new ideas and methods. The ideological conflicts among professional experts of differing specialties will lead to greater discussion of and conflict over issues.[38] Additional knowledge gained from different professional perspectives will frequently increase the awareness of the lack of perfection in any organization and of the need for new solutions, leading to cooperation with other organizations. A correlation analysis was performed in order to gain some systematic insights into the relationships between selected organizational variables and the index of interaction (See Appendix D). The results of this statistical analysis are presented here to facilitate a brief review of some of the relationships discovered (See Table 20 on page 181).

The complexity of the relocation agency is defined for the statistical analysis and is measured in terms of the degree to which a high number of occupational activities exist in the organization, the degree of professional training of personnel, and the degree of professional involvement of personnel outside the organization. The number

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Alvin W. Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles: I and II," Administrative Science Quarterly, II (December, 1957 - March, 1958), 290; Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties," 509-510; Donald Ross, ed., Administration for Adaptability (New York: Metropolitan School Study Council, 1958); and Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," 7-8.

[38] Tom Burns and G. M. Stalker, The Management of Innovation (London: Tavistock Publications, 1961); Donald C. Pelz, "Some Social Factors Related to Performance in a Research Organization," Administrative Science Quarterly, I (December, 1956), 310-325; and George Strauss, "The Set-up Man: A Case Study of Organizational Change," Human Organization, XIII (Summer, 1954), 17-25. For a brief review of these,

of occupational specialties in the different relocation agencies varied greatly. In addition to the administrator and clerical staff, those agencies with a number of specialties included relocation field representatives, social workers, homemaker consultants, rental agents, and financing experts.

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SELECTED
ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES AND INTERACTION

Variable	Code	N	r	Significance
Number of Full-Time Employees	FULLTIME	7	.440	N.S.
Number of Occupations	NOOCCU	7	.624	p .20
Index of Professional Training	PROTRAIN	7	-.300	N.S.
Index of Professional Activity	PROACTIV	7	.574	N.S.
Index of Professional Stimulation	PROSTIM	7	-.393	N.S.
Index of Director Participation	PARTDIR	7	.503	N.S.
Index of Staff Participation	PARTSTAF	7	.817	p .02
Executive Autonomy	EXAUDIR	7	.725	p .10
Index of Innovative Potential	INOVATPO	7	-.233	N.S.
Number of New Joint Programs	NEJTPROG	7	.396	N.S.

N = Number of Observations
r = Pearsonian Product-Moment Correlation Coefficient
The matrix of coefficients showing relationships among all of the thirty variables included in the correlation analysis is in the Appendix, page 301.

One centralized relocation agency had eight occupational specialties. Another had only relocation representatives, all with backgrounds and experience in real estate. Generally, a greater number of occupational activities was associated with a greater amount of interaction. The statistical analysis produced a relatively high correlation between the number of different types of occupations and the interaction

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see Hage and Aiken, Social Change in Complex Organizations, p. 37.

index (r = .624). Furthermore, occupational diversity seems to be more important than the mere size of the organization's staff.

The number of occupations in a relocation agency represents the organization's recognition of the need for specialization in the treatment of both routine and unusual problems. Increased specialization makes it more possible to engage in cooperative relations with other agencies, while at the same time cooperative relations may demand more specialized personnel. The more specialized the relocation agency--that is, the greater the number of occupational specialties it has--the greater the amount of interactive activities it is likely to become involved in with other organizations, including the school.

Another measure of organizational complexity is professionalism. The degree of professionalism in any agency was measured in two ways. The degree to which organizational members received professional training represents one indicator, while the other is the degree to which organizational members were active in professional activities, i.e., attending professional meetings, presenting papers, reading journals, and holding offices. As Table 20 indicates, there is a relatively high relationship between interaction and the amounts of professional activity occurring among members of the relocation organization, but a negative relationship between interaction and amounts of professional training.

These statistics suggest that organizations with staff members who are merely trained do not necessarily interact with other organizations. This notion would seem especially true where there exists a homogeneous group of trained specialists who are not active; that is, they do not pursue professional contacts or knowledge outside of their own organization nor do they possess the motivation to do so.

On the other hand, members of organizations who are professionally active and involved in their professional societies are continually exposed to new ideas about techniques and approaches; new ideas can also be received by reading professional periodicals. Therefore the number of professionally active persons working in one organization will help to determine the access of that organization to new ideas. These staff members also act as messengers between the outside world--centers of knowledge and individuals in other agencies--and their own agency. Both the acquaintance with professional colleagues in other organizations and the desire to test new ideas encourage interorganizational cooperation. This cooperation stems from the fact that most social service type agencies have insufficient resources which they can quickly employ in testing new ideas; an interorganizational sharing of resources is the most likely route. Thus an organization with a number of professionally active members is more likely to interact with other agencies, such as the school, than one with professionally dormant members.

Centralization and Decentralization of Decision Making

The concept of centralization as defined in this research is based on the distribution of power or the ability to influence decisions and exercise control and the pattern of decision making within an organization. The term, as it will be used in this section, should not be confused with the "administrative" centralization of relocation services into one agency, as is the case in the two study cities of Detroit and Minneapolis.

Much organizational literature and many theorists state that as power is more and more decentralized there is a greater opportunity for different points of view to be presented in the decision-making process and thus a greater recognition of the need for change and organizational interaction.[39] If power is in a few hands at the top of an administrative hierarchy the tendency of organizational decisions is to move toward the preservation of the status quo.[40] Changes in organizational activities can lead to a redistribution of power; therefore when a few individuals have power they will experiment less with change. A decentralized decision-making arrangement allows more persons into the decision-making process, and thus allows for representation of different viewpoints, promotes conflict, and encourages greater interorganizational communication.

Two measures of centralization were used: the degree to which the organizational director could participate in making decisions having to do with the control of organizational resources, and the degree to which staff members could participate in decision making regarding the control of work. Each relocation director was asked how often he participated in decisions having to do with the hiring of new staff members, the promotion of the professional staff, the adoption of new policies, and adoption of new programs. He was also asked to indicate whether staff members participate in or influence decisions regarding items such as the assignment of personnel, selection of methods and techniques, reviewing work performances, and handling public relations. The statistical results show that those organizations within which the staff members had a greater chance to participate in the decision making also had more interaction with the schools (See Table 20).

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[39] Francois Cillie, Centralization and Decentralization: A Study in Educational Adaptation (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1940); Hage and Aiken, Social Change in Complex Organizations, pp. 38-43; and Victor A. Thompson, "Bureaucracy and Innovation," 1-20.

[40] This is attributed to what Michels calls "the iron law of oligarchy." See Robert Michels, Political Parties (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

It was assumed that, when the director has greater influence over the selection of resources which affect the way his organization can operate and carry out its business, he has greater latitude in guiding that organization's general performance and response to particular needs. He plays a part in determining what type of personnel will work for the organization, what policies it will follow, what programs it will implement, and where the rewards (e.g., promotion, distribution of salaries, etc.) will be distributed among staff members. In contrast, when the resources are selected and allocated solely by a power remotely lodged in a higher level of authority (e.g., within the parent organization) which is less knowledgeable about the particular needs of the individual relocation organization, it seems that that organization may be constrained by having to carry out its duties within a framework prescribed by others over which it has little or no influence.

The decentralization of organizational decisions within the relocation agency itself reflects the desire and need of the organization to coordinate its activities among various occupational specialties. In addition, those organizations which have a relatively high degree of external relations with other agencies demand more intra-organizational decentralization. The top of any organizational hierarchy cannot deal with the multiplicity of day-to-day decisions which must be made regarding the coordination of services with other agencies.

It is probably for this reason that those relocation organizations exhibiting a higher amount of organizational decision making among all their members showed greater amounts of interaction with the schools. The statistical analysis indicates that the decentralization of organizational decision making among staff members was strongly associated with amount of interaction (r = .817). The participation and influence of the director in controlling organizational resources, however, was not significantly related to organizational interaction (r = .503).

The Degree of Formalization and Interaction

The term formalization refers to the extent to which rules and regulations are used and enforced by an organization in controlling and guiding the work of its members. It was hypothesized that the lower the degree of formalization, the stronger the interorganizational cooperation would be. Rules and regulations are important mechanisms in maintaining social control within an organization; and if they are highly relied upon and emphasized, they will most likely discourage individual initiative and reduce the chance for much innovative behavior or organizational exchange to take place. Jobs which are strictly codified can insure conformity and encourage ritualistic and unimaginative behavior. In contrast, where rules and regulations are more flexibly interpreted, they will serve more as guidelines for organizational behavior or exist only in an informal state, so that there is a greater chance for innovative changes resulting in interaction with other organizations.[41]

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[41] Hage and Aiken, "Program Change and Organizational Properties." For a discussion of the effects of high degrees of formalization on performance within an organization, see: Robert K. Merton, "Bureaucratic

Job descriptions and the presence of a rules manual and/or a document stating policy guidelines represent familiar ways in which organizations can specify what, when, where and how its members should perform. In this study there was little evidence gathered which indicated that there was a great deal of variation among the relocation organizations regarding the degree of control they exerted via these methods. This lack of variation is primarily due to the fact that jobs are described by relatively similar civil service classifications in each city and that the primary manual used for guiding organizational performance in most relocation agencies was that originating from the Federal government. (For example, the Urban Renewal Manual included approximately twenty-five pages dealing with relocation activities.)

Two organizations responsible for relocation resulting from highway development possessed more lengthy sets of rules. The social service agency in Milwaukee had no rules manual except for its formal contract statement with the city; this agency did, however, have a document which outlined broad policy to its employees. On the whole, according to the criteria of existing job descriptions and organizational manuals, the degree of formalization seemed to vary little among all relocation agencies, although comparison was difficult.

The degree of formalization in any organization is related to the autonomy possessed by each member in carrying out his individual duties.

Structure and Personality," in *Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader*, ed. by Amitai Etzioni (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960), pp. 48-61; and Victor A. Thompson, *Modern Organizations* (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 129-137. A discussion of some effects of a low degree of formalization is found in Robert Kahn, *et al.*, *Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity* (New York: Wiley, 1964), pp. 72-95.

The more rules and regulations that are enforced within an agency, the less freedom staff members possess, and the less potential they have for pursuing or initiating relations with other "outside" organizations because of adherence to this more restricted behavioral framework.

Since most of the rules and regulations dictating the basic behavior of relocation agencies come from the national or state levels of government, it was felt that a measure having to do with executive autonomy would be useful in further examination of degree of formalization. This measure was constructed by using the answers of each agency director to questions pertaining to his ability to change the organization's budget, to allocate work among personnel, and other items similar to those used with regard to staff participation. The combination of answers reflected each director's perception of his autonomy in operating within his organization. Although there were variations among organizations, the extent of variability was limited. Basically, those directors who perceived greater personal autonomy seemed to possess more decision-making influence (r = .608, p .15, see Appendix D). In addition, executive autonomy was related to perceived decision-making autonomy on the part of organizational staff members (r = .743, p .05).

In this analysis, the use of the measure of executive autonomy reflected the director's autonomy in making decisions to a greater extent than his autonomy in relation to rules and regulations. For lack of a better measure, the similarity among the rules and regulations of all the relocation organizations suggests that the degree of formalization has little to do with the _variations_ in organizational interaction.

Summary

This chapter has explained the nature and extent of interaction observed between the public elementary school and relocation agency, outlining reasons for interaction in light of current organizational theories and additional research findings. Although cooperative organizational response to the mobile school child is quite minimal, it has been assumed that interaction occurring between the schools and relocation agencies for any purpose represents the potential for mutual efforts directed toward the mobile child to develop.

Interaction took the form of personnel acquaintance, advisory board meetings, referral activity, staffing sessions, and other types of exchange. The extent of interaction was represented in a composite interaction score which showed the varying amounts of interaction with the school experienced by the relocation agencies studied. The analysis of interaction showed that exchange was primarily initiated by the relocation agency, was directed toward the school, and was based on informal agreement.

Two different types of analyses have been employed to show how interaction--or the lack of it--is related to organizational characteristics. An interpretive analysis compared the public school and relocation agency regarding the nature of their access to resources, their functions, and domain consensus--three salient organizational features influencing the dearth of interaction. A statistical correlation analysis and discussion was used to show some of the relationship between relocation organizational properties and interaction with the school. It was found that the variables indicating diversity of staff occupations, staff influence in decision making, and executive autonomy were associated more closely with organizational exchange than others.

This chapter has treated selected organizational elements separately and has described them as they each relate to the dependent concept of interaction. Actually, the elements described, and others, appear in an organization as portions of a highly interrelated system. In reality, it is the particular mix of organizational features and their nature which, in their coexistence, influence organizational behavior and the tendency to interact. In the next chapter, attention will be directed to the organizational features as they coexist within the public elementary school and relocation agency and as they influence behavior and interaction.

CHAPTER V

THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND RELOCATION AGENCY: STRUCTURE AND PERFORMANCE

The analysis in the preceding chapter shows that if interaction occurred between the school and relocation agency, the initiation for the exchange lay primarily with the latter. The analysis shows that there was a minimal amount of cooperation between the two in general and hardly any in responding to the particular needs of the mobile school child.

The discussion in Chapter IV indicates that selected organizational features of the public schools and relocation agencies seem to be associated with particular types of organizational behavior. For example, the results of a correlation analysis were used to show some of the relationships between individual organizational properties of relocation agencies and interaction with the school.

This chapter will focus on the local elementary school and the relocation agency as organizations, each having a system of properties which determines its performance. Thus those organizational features discussed separately beforehand will be viewed as being interrelated with one another as they exist in the ten relocation agencies and twelve schools studied. The nature of these "bundles" of properties, and how it determines the characteristics of school and relocation agency performance in terms of the mobile child, will be the subject of discussion.

Organizations as Systems of Properties

Throughout the analytical phases of this study, it became evident that the combination of organizational features, as they appeared in each of the twenty-two organizations studied, represented logically consistent systems. Viewed together as a whole, these twenty-two organizational systems seemed to have a strong influence on the nature of organizational performance (including interorganizational interaction).

The public schools and relocation agencies examined in this study can best be described and compared with reference to their systems of properties and adjunct modes of performance. In other words, the contrasting organizations can be viewed as they differed with respect to the two major dimensions of structure and performance. In this way a clearer idea can be attained as to why interaction--one type of organizational performance--did or did not occur between the public elementary school and the relocation agency.

A Typology of Organizational Structure and Performance

The relocation agencies in this study ranged from a highly _consolidated structure_ to a highly _segmented structure_: from one which possessed an area-wide jurisdiction, was centrally administered, and provided a wide range of services, to one which provided a limited number of services, was project-oriented, and possessed a staff characterized by a uniformity of occupations. Secondly, the relocation agencies' performance ranged from _active_ to _passive_: that is, from one involved in change, expansion, new activities, and cooperative efforts to one involved only in formally authorized activities and relatively isolated operations.

Very minimal variation was observed among the public schools studied regarding their structure and performance. The schools are in the typological vicinity of segmented structure and somewhat passive performance.

Table 21 helps to clarify the meaning of the two classifications of organizational structure--consolidated and segmented. Likewise, the list of organizational behaviors gives more meaning to the active and passive classifications for performance. The table serves as a useful reference for the remainder of this chapter.

TABLE 21

ORGANIZATIONAL PROPERTIES AND BEHAVIOR ASSOCIATED WITH CLASSIFICATIONS OF STRUCTURE AND PERFORMANCE

Consolidated	Segmented
Centralized administration	Fragmented administration
Area-wide orientation	Project or neighborhood orientation
Diversity of occupational specialties	Uniformity of occupations
Little vertical dependence on higher level organizations	Strongly attached to higher level organizations
Flat hierarchy of authority	Steep hierarchy of authority
Active	Passive
Variety of services	Routinized-specialized services
High intra-organizational communications	Little internal communication
Innovativeness	Non-creative
Exchange with other organizations	Operations relatively in isolation from other organizations
Emphasis on providing effective service	Emphasis on adhering to rules and regulations
Broad-based participation in organization decision-making	Reliance on decision from above

Figure 8 on page 195 illustrates the range of organizational structure and performance observed among the schools and relocation agencies. No attempt was made to plot precisely onto the two ordinal continua. The value of using the double ordinal scale is simply to show the general relativity among the organizations studied with respect to their composite structure and performance.

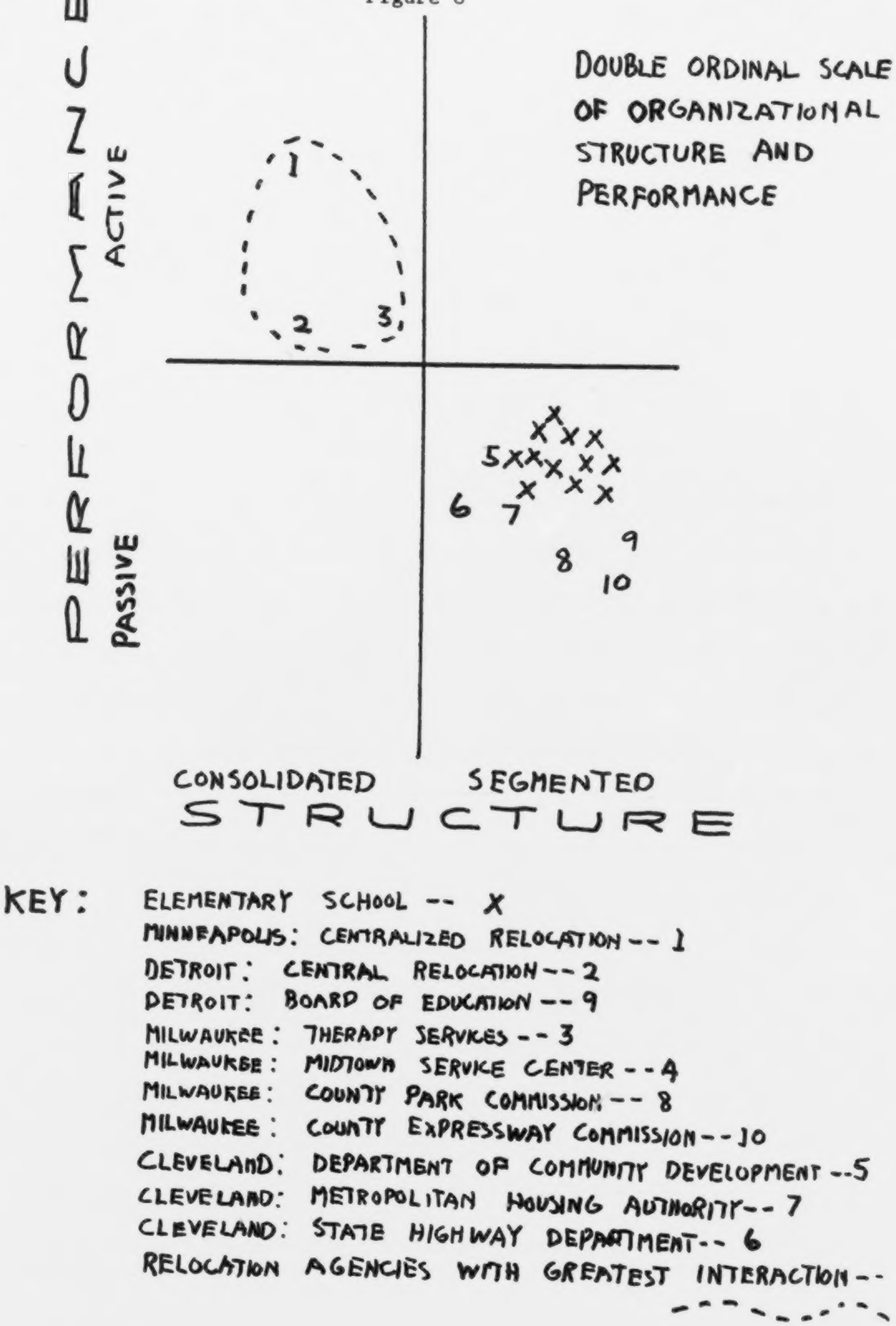
The plotting of organizations on the diagram reflects the subjective judgment of the author. It is important to keep in mind that this ordinal scale does not supply any information about the magnitude of the differences between the organizations.

In addition to serving as a scale which facilitates the description of the relativity of structure and performance among organizations, the diagram is also a useful conceptual guide for the discussion which follows. This discussion will describe and contrast the local elementary schools and relocation agencies with respect to the two major dimensions of structure and performance. In this way, the nature and extent of interaction described in the previous chapter can be better explained.

Relationship Between Structure and Performance

The analysis generally indicated that the more an organization possessed those features associated with the consolidated structure, the more active was its performance. The organizations which were more segmented tended to be more passive. All of the relocation agencies studied loosely conformed to a continuum of organizational types ranging from the consolidated-active at the one end to a segmented-passive on the other. All of the schools generally conformed to the segmented-passive classification.

Figure 8


DOUBLE ORDINAL SCALE OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND PERFORMANCE
PERFORMANCE
ACTIVE
PASSIVE
1
2
3
5
6
7
8
9
10
X
CONSOLIDATED
SEGMENTED
STRUCTURE
KEY:
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL -- X
MINNEAPOLIS: CENTRALIZED RELOCATION -- 1
DETROIT: CENTRAL RELOCATION -- 2
DETROIT: BOARD OF EDUCATION -- 9
MILWAUKEE: THERAPY SERVICES -- 3
MILWAUKEE: MIDTOWN SERVICE CENTER -- 4
MILWAUKEE: COUNTY PARK COMMISSION -- 8
MILWAUKEE: COUNTY EXPRESSWAY COMMISSION -- 10
CLEVELAND: DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT -- 5
CLEVELAND: METROPOLITAN HOUSING AUTHORITY -- 7
CLEVELAND: STATE HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT -- 6
RELOCATION AGENCIES WITH GREATEST INTERACTION --

The Public Elementary School

In exploring how the properties of the elementary school organization affect both its passive performance and interactive response, its vertical attachment to higher institutions emerged as the dominating influence. In this study, the elementary school was found to be an organization which encourages uniformity, supports increasing bureaucratization, resists fundamental change, and maintains a relatively closed system in the professional sense.

Through its strong vertical attachment, the school takes on many of its main characteristics. Also, the school's operation is both dependent on and constrained by the larger system. It has already been shown that the elementary school possesses legitimate vertical access to financial resources, technical assistance, new ideas, and equipment; these are some of the beneficial aspects of its having access to resources from higher levels. On the other hand, these strong linkages create very definite constraints, both intentional and unintentional, formal and informal, on the school's performance and especially on its ability to respond to special needs and create new approaches on its own accord. The influences of the controlled organizational environment to which it is linked are quite imposing.

The fundamental similarity of the higher systems to which most inner-city schools are attached seems to determine the relative similarity of structural characteristics and performance among the schools. This was the case, at least, among all the elementary schools studied in this project. Although the schools operate within four different city environments, are parts of four different schools systems with slight variations regarding their independence and size, and are controlled by different state governments, they are all strikingly similar in the organizational sense. The findings of this study indicate almost no variation among them in terms of the organizational characteristics studied. The structure and performance of inner-city elementary schools remains remarkably uniform due to their vertical affiliation with highly centralized and professionally homogeneous city school systems, state governments, the Federal government, institutions of higher education, professional organizations and unions, and nationally-oriented educational-commercial structures.

Policy-Making Autonomy

Formal authority for making decisions related to educational policy in the four cities is concentrated in a board of education and superintendent. This core of policy-makers possesses a high amount of autonomy in running each school system. The reasons for this autonomy are based on several traditional beliefs within the public education system. One belief is that schools should be locally controlled because local educational officials are best qualified to make decisions regarding the educational needs of a particular community. Autonomy of policy-making is also due to a long-standing belief that the educative function in government should be independent from other concerns of government.

Through the years most educators have felt that public education should be "kept out of politics" since it deals with children. Also, the elements of permanency, stability, and continuity are important to the provision of educational services; thus it is felt that the school should not be closely associated with the changes, uncertainties and risks common to a political environment. Furthermore, for professional reasons, educators have emphasized the point that they are "above" partisan politics. Realistically, these arguments have been used quite successfully by professional educators for their own political gain and the result has been relative isolation of school decision-making.[1]

The autonomy of running city schools also stems from the fiscal independence of most school systems from the general municipal budget. In this way, so educators claim, their expertise goes undisturbed by the needs and desires of other "meddling" public officials and can be used to choose the best way to allocate resources for the proper functioning of the school system. Educational fiscal resources, however, are influenced by the level of non-educational expenditures and taxing within local governments.

In summary, these claims and beliefs of professional educators over a long period of time have played an important part in creating a situation in most large cities--the four study cities included--where, until very recently, policy making regarding educational matters has occurred within a relatively closed decision-making system free from outside influence. Each school within such a system must operate within a framework provided by the higher-level policy decisions.

The findings of this study show that no personnel in the elementary schools surveyed, including the principals, had much if any influence on the more significant decisions affecting their school's operations, such as hiring new staff members, promoting the professional staff, and making changes in the budget. These decisions were handled at higher levels. Most of the principals' primary decision-making authority had to do with the day-to-day operations of the school, i.e., control over work decisions. They made decisions having to do with the allocation of work among available personnel, work assignments, reviewing the performance of staff members, handling public relations, and determining the methods of work to be used. Thus, the degree of internal centralization of the elementary school staff is a somewhat irrelevant variable with which to be concerned when the most important decisions--those dealing with the use of resources which determine its capacity to change--are made at higher levels.

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[1] Philip Meranto, "Emerging Participation Patterns in School Politics," (paper presented to urban school systems seminar, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, October 18, 1968), pp. 5-7.

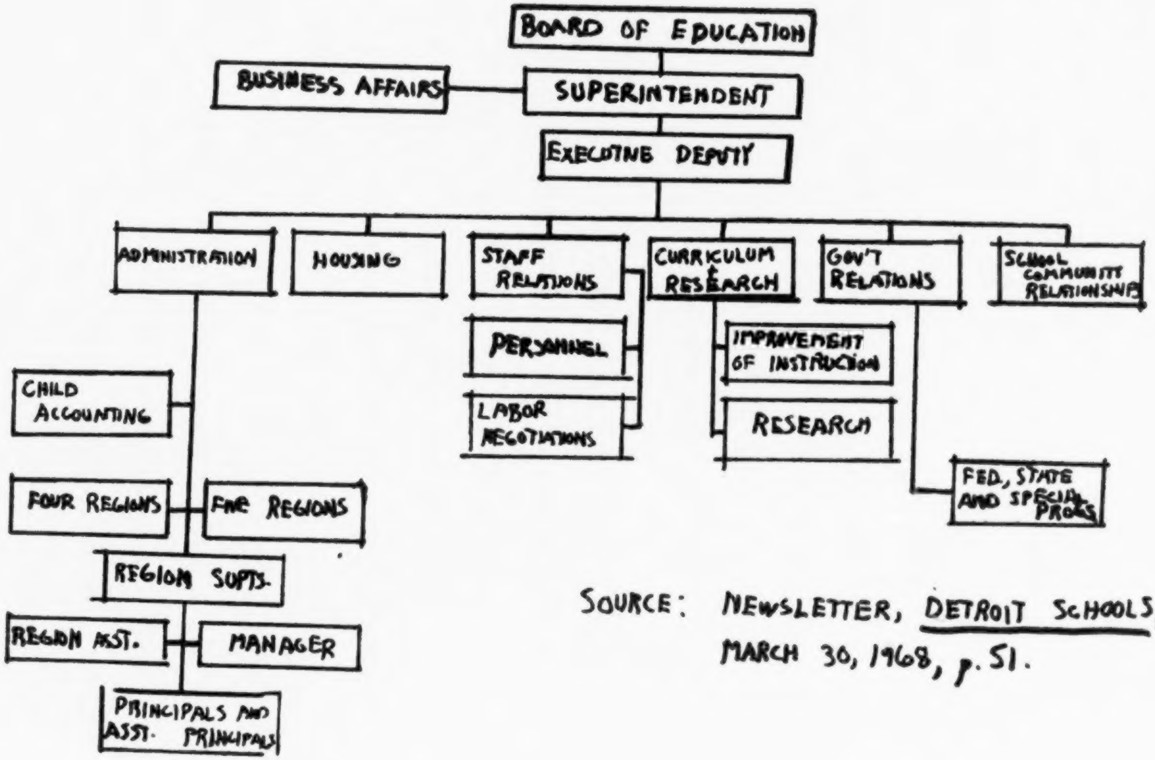
Local Educational Bureaucracy

Educational policy is administered through a highly centralized bureaucracy at the top of which are central administrators and the "central office." Intermediary positions include a supervisory staff and field consultants, field administrators, and pupil-service specialists. At the lowest level of this hierarchy, where the bureaucracy meets the consumer, is the school with its principal and teaching staff.

In the four city systems studied, the central administrations were primarily organized in functional divisions, each of which paid special attention to areas such as curriculum development, business and fiscal affairs, research, pupil services, school-community relations, facilities, and personnel concerns. The administrative structure of the Detroit schools is shown in Figure 9. There is much influence lodged in the central administration which controls the operations of the

Figure 9

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF DETROIT SCHOOLS


BOARD OF EDUCATION
BUSINESS AFFAIRS
SUPERINTENDENT
EXECUTIVE DEPUTY
ADMINISTRATION
HOUSING
STAFF RELATIONS
CURRICULUM & RESEARCH
GOV'T RELATIONS
SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS
PERSONNEL
LABOR NEGOTIATIONS
IMPROVEMENT OF INSTRUCTION
RESEARCH
FED, STATE AND SPECIAL PROGS.
CHILD ACCOUNTING
FOUR REGIONS
FIVE REGIONS
REGION SUPTS.
REGION ASST.
MANAGER
PRINCIPALS AND ASST. PRINCIPALS

SOURCE: NEWSLETTER, DETROIT SCHOOLS, MARCH 30, 1968, p. 51.

schools under it.

The many decisions made within the central office have undetermined impact on the way schools perform and on the way schools relate to students, the community, and other organizations. In addition to performing their primary functions, bureaus or divisions can serve the secondary role of "watchdog" over the procedures and practices of individual schools. For example, the research department, which may be responsible to the superintendent, carries out its activities primarily within the school system. In addition to fulfilling its stated function, research staffs located in any part of the system are in the position to report any unorthodox procedures, questionable or unfair practices, or politically dangerous activities. To the school principal, the presence of a research staff member sent down by the central administration office can be perceived as a controlling influence.

Numerous supervisors act as liaisons between the central office and individual schools. This cadre, guided by the milieu of operational decisions coming from the central administrative office, in turn guides the operating procedures and techniques used in each elementary school through conducting in-service training sessions, giving demonstration lessons, advising principals, and visiting and observing teachers. Although these field representatives deliver assistance and information useful for the conduct of school activities, they also represent control over the functioning of the school.

In addition to being centralized, large city school systems are relatively closed throughout. In addition to the policy-making autonomy of the school boards and superintendents, another indication of this trait is the way higher level administrative positions are filled. Most of these administrative positions are filled by long-standing, dedicated and loyal servants drawn from lower levels, especially principals. In discussing the Chicago school system, Havighurst states that "most offices in the central administration (assistant and associate superintendents, bureau directors, etc.) are filled from the ranks of principals within the system."[2]

Furthermore, most individuals gaining the principalship of a school previously served for some length of time as a teacher in the same school. Strong indication of this was drawn from the respondents in this study who were principals. All of the principals interviewed averaged thirteen years experience working in the same school as a teacher and/or an assistant administrator before they gained the principalship.

Finally, the few empirical studies on educational policy-making in urban school systems have shown those systems to be generally closed. One extensive study dealing with the school systems in Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis describes the public school system as being

> perhaps the most nonpublic of governmental services. Public school systems have removed decision-making from the agents closest to the school child--the teachers and parents. . . . The concept of public accountability has been abandoned. The school professionals have convinced the various public interests that only they are qualified to make policy. Whether a district is fiscally independent or dependent does not influence the fact that a small core of school people control decisions for public education in every large city. . . . The insulation of public education is two-fold: bureaucratic centralization (or more accurately overcentralization) which is a product of size, reinforced by an ideological rationale of professionalism, which is a product of the vested interests of the educationalists. The

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[2] Havighurst, The Public Schools of Chicago, p. 396.

> result is a static, internalized, isolated system which has been unable to respond to vastly changing needs and demands of large city populations.[3]

In addition to the constraints imposed on the potential operating flexibility of the elementary schools due to their participation in this system, both the state and national governments play an important part in shaping the schools' programs as well. It was shown in Chapter IV that the local school system has access to the resources of these higher governments. For example, in fiscal 1969, in the field of elementary and secondary schooling, the national division of fiscal responsibility was 52.0 per cent local, 40.7 per cent state, and 7.3 per cent Federal.[4]

State Aid and Regulations

"Urban education systems . . . are conducted within a legal framework and a financing system that involve a large measure of state participation. Both state regulations and state aid leave cities at a disadvantage relative to suburban and rural areas."[5] The four school districts in this study are no exception. Available figures show that the percentage of all central city education expenditures represented by aid was 10.4 per cent in Cleveland, 25.2 per cent in Detroit, 20.6 per cent in Milwaukee, and 31.0 per cent in Minneapolis, although these percentages reflect less than these cities' fair share when compared with the national proportion of 44.5.[6]

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[3] Marilyn Gittell and T. Edward Hollander, Six Urban School Districts: A Comparative Study of Institutional Response (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1968), pp. 196-197.

[4] Report of the Task Force on Urban Education, CXV (January 20, 1970), E29.

[5] U. S., Congress, Senate, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Federal Aid to Public Education: Who Benefits?, by Joel S. Berke, et al., Committee Print (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 21.

State statutory provisions determine how school districts should be organized, establish permissible tax and debt limits, and set responsibility for retirement funds. Other state decisions affecting schools have to do with a broad range of measures including teacher certification requirements, professional standards and practices, salaries, class size regulations, curriculum and grading standards, tenure and contracts, leaves of absence, professional negotiation, retirement and social security, textbooks, instruction, pupil transportation, education for exceptional children, school building construction and sites, reorganization, relationship to higher education, and others.[7] Furthermore, a state educational bureaucracy, with features similar to the local educational bureaucracy, administers assistance to and control over local districts.

The following examples give an idea of the specificity and stringency with which state regulations control local schools. In Ohio, the requirements for an individual to become a certified school psychologist are:

> Masters degree; professional graduate credits, 24 (content of psychology, including human development, learning, and personality, 8; standardized group measurement and evaluation, 2; statistics, 2; psychological study of children, including laboratory experiences, 8; psychology of counseling and therapy techniques, 2; role and function of the psychologist in schools, 2);

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[6] *Report of the Task Force on Urban Education*, CXV (January 20, 1970), E30.

[7] See Research Division, National Education Association, *High Spots in State School Legislation, January 1-August 31, 1970* (Washington: National Education Association, 1970).

> 9 months of successful, full-time internship in a school setting under the supervision of a qualified school psychologist at an approved institution.[8]

In Minnesota, certificates with a five dollar fee attached are required of administrators, supervisors, and teachers in all public schools, nursery through high school, and must be recorded in the office of the county or local superintendent. Unless otherwise indicated, initial certificates are issued for two years and are renewable up to five years after renewal requirements have been met.[9]

In Ohio, recent state legislation has changed regulations regarding leaves of absence. An amendment was enacted which "substitutes a written statement for a notarized affidavit for use of sick leave and provides that falsification of statement may be grounds for dismissal."[10]

Any one state has thousands of rules and regulations which affect local schools. In an interview with a member of the research staff of the National Education Association, this author was told that so many state statutes relating to public education exist that it is "nearly impossible" to compile all of them for even one state.

National Governmental Influence

Recently the Federal government has changed its orientation toward public education by creating large-scale social action programs aimed at upgrading the education of impoverished populations. Programs such as Project Headstart, Title I of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and Project Follow-Through have broader intentions than earlier programs dealing only with items such as in-service training for teachers. For example, the primary intentions of Title I were to improve educational services in school districts with a substantial proportion of poor pupils; to reduce the discontent and conflicts associated with race and poverty; to relieve the fiscal dilemma of central cities; and to establish the "principle that the Federal government has some responsibility for local educational problems."[11]

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[8] The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, and the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States, 1970 ed. (Washington: National Education Association, 1970), p. 136.

[9] Ibid., p. 114.

[10] High Spots in State School Legislation, p. 30.

There are eight major Federal programs which represent more than ninety-five per cent of total Federal revenues for elementary and secondary education going to school districts. In addition to Title I, they are Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) (school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials); Title III of ESEA (supplementary educational centers and services); Title III of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) (financial assistance for strengthening instruction in science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and other critical subjects); Title V-A of NDEA (guidance, counseling, and testing); Vocational Education; School Lunch and Milk Program; and School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas, including Public Law 874 (general aid to offset increased school costs related to Federal employees) and Public Law 815 (school construction money for similar purposes).[12]

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[11] Report of the Task Force on Urban Education, CXV (January 20, 1970), E55.

[12] Federal Aid to Public Education, pp. 10-11.

Unfortunately, Federal aid to education has not substantially helped the large cities' school districts who need it most. Aid to education from the national government has not been equitably distributed among school districts to offset disparities among them, taking into account community wealth, fiscal disadvantages of urbanized areas, and districts with higher proportions of educationally disadvantaged pupils.

Furthermore, a report on Federal aid to education states that:

> ESEA funds appear to go largely for ancillary programs and are not utilized to improve the central portion of the curriculum presented to disadvantaged children. The failure to concentrate funds on students most in need of compensatory education, and the widespread but improper use of Title I as general aid for system-wide purposes have diluted the effect of that program.
>
> The amounts of federal aid are simply too small to be of anything but marginal help to financially imperiled educational systems. In comparison with total revenues from all sources which ran from $475 to $1,000 per pupil in the five states [California, New York, Texas, Michigan, and Massachusetts] we found total federal aid averaging only $22 to $50 per pupil, or from 3.3 per cent to 10 per cent of average district revenues. These amounts are inadequate in face of the massive financial problems facing education.[13]

Additional problems which have arisen due to the introduction of Federal aid to education are the need to develop adequate methods of evaluating the effectiveness of programs to assure the wise use of funds by local districts and to resolve difficulties inherent in the fact that they are being administered by bureaucracies which are far removed from the schools and districts executing them. Despite these growing pains of providing Federal aid to education, the demand for it is increasing, especially within large city school districts; thus, the local elementary school in the inner city is and will continue to become more attached to and influenced by the national level of government. "Until the federal government assumes the responsibility for providing an adequate and equitable pattern of aid to education, the crisis in American education will continue."[14]

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[13] _Ibid_., p. 32.

More Obscure Influences

In addition to the local, state, and Federal governmental influences which mold a school's program, there are other less visible elements of society to which the local school is vertically attached. One influence is that of institutions of higher education which are able to make and enforce demands regarding curricular offerings. Another influence is the general occupational structure of the society and the requirements of occupational roles as they develop and influence accreditation agencies and governmental agencies which rate school programs. Also, national examinations and nationally marketed books have a "uniforming" influence on the school program.

> A wide variety of commercial structures form a part of the environment: materials vendors, equipment manufacturers, the mass media, and research and consulting organizations. So, too, do a variety of nonprofit structures, including foundations, testing organizations, special interest groups, voluntary and professional organizations, and special innovative groups like those represented in national curriculum programs.[15]

The complex system of influence to which the local elementary school is attached not only shapes the nature of its organizational characteristics, but also results in the strikingly consistent patterns of performance observed among the inner-city schools studied here.

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[14] *Ibid*., p. 53.

[15] Miles, "Some Properties of Schools," p. 4.

Internal Orientation of the Educative Function

A predominant trait of the local school operating within the hierarchical system just described is its internal orientation; many of the resources and forms of assistance it needs can be supplied by its own hierarchy. The availability of these channels through which resources can be easily attained and the fact that their utilization is preferred compared to alternative methods tend to cloud any potential for extraorganizational contact to occur. The bureaucratic controls of the system tend to further discourage interaction other than that taking place within the educational hierarchy, e.g., setting certification requirements for school social workers as opposed to relying more on community social service institutions. The individual elementary school thus carried out its function in a relatively isolated manner with regard to "the rest of the world."

The isolated way in which the school goes about its business on the local or neighborhood level is noticed by other service agencies. In fact, it is just this type of behavior on the part of the public school which could actually have an effect on the propensity for other agencies, like the relocation organization, to feel that initiation of interaction on their part is warranted if any interaction with the school is to be attained at all. This factor of relative isolation, and the relative unfamiliarity of the school with other local institutions, seems to be the prime reason that the personnel interviewed in each of the twelve schools failed to properly identify and recognize the relocation agency.

Intensification of Instruction and Token Expansion of Function

The functioning of the local school system hierarchy in seclusion in relation to other public governmental functions and its access to resources at higher levels allows it to add numerous services to its repertoire for helping the school child, despite the existence of similar services in other institutions. For example, schools traditionally have been involved in such supportive and adjunct activities as recreation program supervision, health examinations, and guidance counseling. With added resources supplied through mechanisms such as the Title I program, schools have been able to intensify their educative function and expand the provision of auxiliary services.[16] Several schools examined in this study were able to hire additional teachers, numerous non-professional aides, reading specialists, language and speech specialists, health aides, social workers, guidance counselors, physicians, psychologists, and others. Besides gaining additional personnel, these new resources have allowed for more team teaching, tutoring, reduced class size, and new equipment resulting in an intensification of instructional response. Although intensification of instruction is both necessary and represents improvement, the expansion of auxiliary services is less necessary; it frequently increases duplication of services within the community and results in merely token responses to the symptoms of the more fundamental problems many children possess.

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[16] Federal Aid to Public Education: Who Benefits? points out most clearly that, in general, Title I funds have not been applied in conformance with their intended use. Many schools have spread their allocation thinly in order to include as many students as possible. This has resulted in more funds for traditional educational practices rather than for imaginative, integrated, and concentrated compensatory efforts for children who need them most.

Auxiliary specialists are usually called upon to perform impossible tasks. For example, a social worker may be hired to serve as a school/community agent whose responsibility is "simply" to serve as a liaison between the community and the school. The conditions which surround the school/community agent were related to this researcher on two separate accounts by highly motivated, but somewhat discouraged school social workers.

Although the title of school/community agent has connotations of "public accountability," the broad duties of the job--which includes dealing with a multitude of special family situations, contacting various public service agencies, interpreting the school's programs to community groups, interpreting the realities of the community to the school staff, and counseling pupils--usually are impossible for one individual to handle. In time, the well motivated but overburdened social worker, bewildered by the possibilities, finds refuge in handling small problems around the school such as driving a pupil home when he is ill, sewing the pants of an overzealous athlete just in from the playground, or occasionally visiting a mother of a multi-problem family. In practice, their work becomes anything but that of a school/community liaison.

Other specialists, such as psychologists, reading teachers, guidance counselors, and nurses, travel from one school to another putting in periodic appearances. This procedure of rotating specialists was practiced in most of the schools studied. Those with Title I funds were able to hire a full-time nurse or psychologist. In one school system, the psychologist visited a school approximately once every two weeks. In most of the schools a physician or nurse was on duty for not more than eight hours each week.

The expansion of the schools' function through the addition of isolated specialists (especially within an interorganizational environment with limited resources) is an example of an institutional mechanism designed to reduce pressures on the general system and also respond to particularly intense client complaints. Lipsky states that such services, whether or not they perform their manifest functions, work to take bureaucracies "off the hook" by making it appear that something is being done about the problems. The existence of these specialists permits the school bureaucracy "to allege that problems are being handled and provide a 'place' in the bureaucracy where particularly vociferous and persistent complainants can be referred."[17] They also deflect pressures for general reorientations of the system such as the establishment of major exchange agreements with other organizations which, for example, might mean a potential loss of autonomy.

Broadness of Domain and Vulnerability

The propensity for the school and educational system to institutionalize defense mechanisms is largely attributable to the predominance of its "domain." The school is not only public and locally controlled, but it serves a function which is highly valued in our society. It is one of our most prominent public institutions. The school's importance is growing; it generally gives one the opportunity to attain higher economic and social status and has increasingly supplemented the family in the role of socialization agent. Americans spend more on education than on any other domestic public service. The school is an institution which has daily contact with a large proportion of families; every night children return home and tell parents how they have been treated. Furthermore, the school must serve all children who apply, rich and poor, intelligent and retarded, male and female--those of all nationalities, races, and creeds.

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[17] Lipsky, "Toward a Theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy," p. 19.

The prominence of this institution in our society, together with the requirement that it become closely associated with members of a variety of families, makes it vulnerable to criticism of practices and the nuances of personnel behavior.[18] This vulnerability causes it to turn frequently to defensive reactions to such disapproval. The formation of institutional mechanisms such as that previously described are related to the school's defensiveness. The contrived emphasis that schools place on the development of community relations and on mobilizing community support (see Chapter IV) are, to some extent, defense mechanisms. Also, Miles suggests that vulnerability and the varying demands from the "outside" environment encourage the withdrawing and passive stance of many school administrators who view the school as having "little power to initiate, develop, grow, push things, or be disagreeable to anyone or anything."[19] These and other mechanisms, such as setting up defense barriers by relying strongly on traditional operating practices and emphasizing procedural rigidity, serve as responses to outside pressures as well as act as obstacles to the potential development of relations with other institutions and to any unique response to mobile school children.

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[18] Any difficulties experienced by parents, pupils, and local citizens in eliciting any serious response to criticism or suggested changes from the school are exacerbated by a highly centralized administrative structure.

[19] Miles, "Some Properties of Schools," p. 19.

Static Organizational Properties

Since the functioning of the local elementary school is so dependent on hierarchical relations and its operations are shaped by vertical influences, its internal structural characteristics do little, by themselves, to explain its propensity to innovate or interact.

The school organization has a low degree of complexity. It comprises one occupational specialty--teaching.[20] With the exception of non-professionals, all school personnel involved in teaching received their training from a university school of education or an accredited teacher's college. Furthermore, there is relatively little role interdependence among these professionals during the working day. This relative isolation from one another reduces the potential for intra-organizational communication to occur. With few meaningful channels through which discussion of teacher practices can occur, for example, there is little chance to alter the system.[21] As most teachers enter the public education arena, their values and teaching habits are shaped by the attitudes of their colleagues, i.e., what they hear at professional association meetings, read in educational literature and journals, and receive in-training programs sponsored by the school system. Their sources of new knowledge and ideas are those condoned by the educational establishment; their intellectual and professional experience is one-dimensional.

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[20] It can be stated that the school has a number of different occupational specialties when service personnel are included in the count. The distribution of different occupations and occupational influence, however, is so imbalanced in favor of the teaching staff that any notion of high organizational complexity can be dismissed.

[21] Miles, "Some Properties of Schools," p. 12.

An indication of this professional environment was reflected in statements of all respondents who were principals of the schools studied (with the exception of one) that their principal means of professional stimulation was attending meetings of associations such as the National Education Association, state education associations, and local education associations. Most of the principals belonged to more than one professional organization--those mentioned above, plus local groups of public school administrators. The journals read by these individuals were mostly those published by the national, state and local education associations. Not one journal received by any principal was from another professional realm, including that of public administration.

The static nature of the school is also indicated by the fact that teaching in the public school offers limited possibilities for career mobility, with the exception of males who use it as a stepping stone to acquiring administrative posts.

> For women, in American public schools, teaching has been a job entered as a temporary position between college completion and marriage, or a relatively stable role entered by people without active ambitions for upward mobility. . . . There are at least two sources of potential nonoptimization of the psychological contract between the teacher and the organization. First, the job is often a means to something else and not intrinsically satisfying. Second, it is usually not easy to become radically more skilled or developed in the job or to receive added recognition and rank increments for increased skill.[22]

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[22] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

An interesting indication of the route for advancement into administrative positions (as well as an indication of the system's tightness) was obtained from a comparison of responses to two questions answered by principals. When asked how long they had worked within their schools, their answers came to an average of eighteen years. When asked how long they had served in their present administrative positions, the answers averaged out to five years. Furthermore, all of these principals served a substantial period of time within their respective schools before being appointed to the principalship. None of the twelve principals were hired for their present positions from outside the schools within which they worked.

As mentioned previously in this chapter, the school has little decision-making authority over its operation since it is a part of a system with a pseudo-military chain of command. Quite understandably, due to vertical intrusion, the school relies heavily on rules and regulations. In addition to numerous controls from higher levels, nine of the twelve schools studied have rulebooks of their own averaging 110 pages (the range was from one page in one school to 300 pages in another). All employees of the schools are under civil service classifications. One-half of the schools keep a complete written job description of personnel, while two-thirds keep a written record of job performance of all or some employees. In several schools records of job performance depended entirely on the length of the employee's service--the shorter the service, the more frequent the evaluation. The collection of job descriptions, rules manuals, evaluation systems, and records lets everyone in the organization know what he is supposed to do. The use of rules and regulations not only restricts the performance of school personnel but also makes it more difficult to change the school's program and develop relationships with other organizations. An inevitable consequence of formalization and a lack of autonomy is a low level of morale within the organization.

This quick review of the internal structural characteristics of schools shows the effects of being linked to a professionally homogenous, highly centralized and formalized bureaucratic system. These characteristics have certain effects on organizational performance. Probably the best single indicator of school performance was obtained from the answers to the question in which each respondent was asked to rate the relative priority his school placed on each of five organizational objectives: growth in the number of clients, improvement of present programs and services, increasing staff morale, minimizing cost per student, and developing new programs and services. All of the respondents in all twelve schools placed greatest emphasis on the improvement of existing programs and services. Seventy-five per cent of the principals rated "increasing staff morale" as being second most important. Both of these measures indicate the performance orientation of an organization with relatively static organizational features; one which is somewhat unable to develop new programs and is seldom involved in creating innovative approaches, one which restricts access to diversified sources of knowledge and controls the operating behavior of its personnel, and one which fails to keep its personnel fully satisfied. The emphasis placed on these two performance objectives is logically consistent with the structural characteristics of the school and the vertically oriented organizational environment to which it is closely attached.

Organizations with features like those of the school respond to human needs in a highly controlled manner, applying their specialized skills uniformly, reliably, fairly, and efficiently.[23] Within the interorganizational context on the community level, however, such inflexible response can cause certain problems in relation to the unique or complex needs of the population being served. In the inner city it is likely that certain problems go unattended; gaps of service develop between organizations with relatively formalized and rigid response capabilities like those of the school. Also, the individual client can be divided by being served by two or more specialized agencies, each having responsibility for a "piece" of his problem. For example, the school is responsible for a child's intellectual development, and the welfare worker for his home life. Furthermore, bureaucratic structures which respond to people directly often duplicate services. For example, the school social worker may be doing the same thing that a welfare worker is doing. The school is an organization which is not likely to engage in relations with other service institutions to remedy such problems, due to the nature of its organizational characteristics. Hence, it fails to interact with an organization such as the relocation agency.

Schools' Response to the Mobile Child: Token Efforts, Individual Initiative, and Conscious Neglect

The way in which the school approaches the mobile child has much to do with its organizational characteristics. The findings of this study reveal that there is little regular concern given the mobile child. The scattered forms of response which do occur basically are of three types and are consistent with organizational features of the school described earlier.

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[23] See Wilensky and Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, p. 243.

In one city, a special unit exists to help children who are either in-migrants from rural areas or excessively mobile within the school system (more than six transfers). This orientation center serves an important function and its activities probably do much to help children adjust to a new educational setting. On the other hand, its efforts cannot be called much more than marginal when compared to the total number of children changing schools within the city throughout a school year, many of whom get no special attention.[24] The presence of such a service, however, allows school officials to say that "we are dealing with mobility" according to the responses of four or five school principals in the city. In other words, in addition to serving its main function, the orientation center concept also serves as a mechanism to make it appear that something is being done about the effects of school mobility.

Another type of response to the mobile child was that resulting from sensitivity and initiative on the part of realistic individuals working in the school--teachers and social workers. Possibly due to a strong continuing interest in a particular child, the recognition of the impersonality of the school system in handling transfers, or a more basic humanitarian philosophy, certain teachers would plan events such as farewell parties for a moving child while others, receiving the child, would call the parents. This form of response, although somewhat noteworthy, fails to touch the unstable conditions surrounding a move and, as in the first example, can exacerbate the problems of moving by focusing the child's attention on the separation from friends, school, and neighborhood.

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[24] A complete description of the Milwaukee orientation center concept is presented in Allan L. Nuhlicek, "Orientation Centers for In-Migrants and Transients," The National Elementary Principal, XLVI (January, 1967), 34-38. This unique program was mentioned by only one of the Milwaukee school principals interviewed despite the presence of questions in the interview schedule which were especially directed toward obtaining information regarding the schools' response to the mobile school child.

The third form of response is actually no response. Some school personnel feel that since the school is not responsible for a child's move, it should not be responsible for giving special help to the child in adjusting. There was a conscious recognition on the part of some respondents of the possible adjustment problems a mobile child might have, but an unconcern with doing anything about them. There were primarily three reasons for such reaction. One was largely attributable to the enormous overburden already experienced by the school staff member. The "we have enough to do" attitude was a familiar response. Another form of response was easily interpreted as a defensive reaction intended to "protect" the school. It was made clear that the reasons the child moves are not the "fault" of the school but of the family or relocation agency. A third reason why the school should neglect any special response toward the mobile child was based on the attitudes of only a few respondents who felt it was not the school's function to become involved in curing the child's "pathologies."

The local elementary school and its organizational features and linkages determine its inability to innovate flexibly or to interact of its own accord. Its strong adhesiveness to a larger hierarchical system, the relative isolation of that system, the broad consensus regarding the school's domain and resulting vulnerability, and its static internal characteristics, all lead toward the organization's bureaucratic approach to the child. The school sacrifices its aggressiveness, sense of urgency, humaneness, speed, and adaptability in responding to the various needs of its clients for reasons of efficiency, reliability, precision, and fairness. Its structure is segmented and its behavior relatively passive. The value which the educational hierarchy places on this type of performance reduces the chances for any innovation or interaction to occur at the lowest level of the hierarchy where the bureaucracy directly serves its clients.

Also, the system tends to restrict the behavior of bureaucratic workers who directly deal with the client. As Lipsky suggests, problems affecting those people who represent government to the people and who are involved in face-to-face contact with their clientele arise from lack of organizational and personal resources, physical and psychological threat, and conflicting and ambiguous role expectations. "Individuals in these bureaucratic roles deliberately and unconsciously develop mechanisms to cope with these problems. These mechanisms primarily serve protective bureaucratic functions."[25] The inner-city elementary school is no exception.

The Relocation Agency

Fundamental Dimensions of Relocation Agencies

The variations in structure and performance among relocation agencies are the major concern of the discussion which follows. However, there are some features discovered to be common among all of the agencies examined here in all four cities. Relocation organizations (1) have public auspice, (2) are bureaucratic entities, (3) operate within a social work frame of reference, and (4) serve clients who are about to experience a transition in their lives.

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[25] Lipsky, "Street-Level Bureaucracy," p. 1.

Relocation agencies have both legal authority to operate and administrative authority to manage the carrying out of their activities. Through a combination of Federal, state, and local legislation, they are authorized and required to provide particular types of assistance to persons displaced by public improvement actions.

Also, relocation agencies are both a part of, and in themselves, formal bureaucratic organizations. They serve their purpose by placing varying degrees of emphasis on specialization, hierarchy of authority, and rules and regulations.

Relocation agencies have the basic concern of providing direct services to meet immediate needs of families and individuals. In many cases this orientation toward serving individual needs conflicts with the demands of their being bureaucratic entities, for the personnel of most relocation agencies engender the style and approach of social work professionals (through experience and in spirit, if not via academic credentials) whose outlook constantly requires that foremost attention be given the client, rather than to rules and guidelines.[26]

Finally, the clients served by relocation agencies have one common trait; they are concerned with geographically relocating their home. All of the agencies provide these clients with the types of help designed to make their transitional period of moving less burdensome. Both the methods and the extent to which such assistance is provided vary. The primary purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to discuss some of these variations in behavior and the reasons they exist.

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[26] See Peter M. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 188; also Wilensky and Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, pp. 245-246.

Varying Organizational Characteristics

The ties which bind relocation agencies to higher levels of authority have already been acknowledged. Like the school, the relocation agency serves as a part of a local governmental bureaucracy. The bureaucracy of which the relocation function is usually a part is primarily concerned with capital improvements and buildings including housing, public facilities, transportation systems, and parks. Unlike the school, relocation agencies are more publicly accountable to the extent that they are ultimately responsible to elected executives and/or representatives who, in making decisions regarding numerous policies and budget requests, must weigh demands for relocation services with those for other governmental concerns. Thus the operational capabilities of the relocation agency in any one city, and often Federal-state requirements, are highly dependent upon how public officials interpret the need for a variety of other governmental services.[27]

Despite this fact, the actual location of the relocation function within the governmental structure varies and reflects the degree of ease with which it can gain access to resources. For example, in some cases relocation agencies have a direct line of responsibility to the director of their parent organization, e.g., Local Public Agency, Housing Commission, Department of Community Development, which, in turn, has direct responsibility to the mayor. (See Figure 10 on page 225.) On the other hand, the relocation function in several cases is carried out by a section staff located within a bureau, which is a part of a division, within a department of county government. Ultimate authority, in this case, lies with a relatively autonomous board of county commissioners. (See Figure 11 on page 226.)

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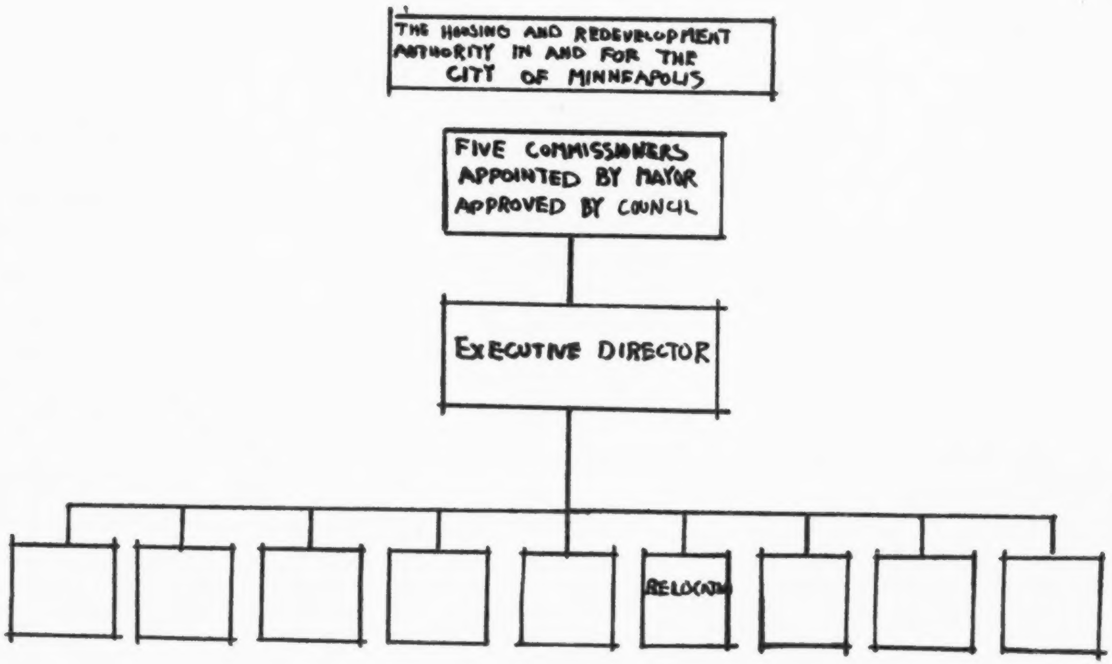
[27] Ultimately, this is also true for the schools.

The function and domain among different relocation agencies can vary widely. For example, one or two agency directors said that the purpose of their operations was serving broad community objectives, while others interpreted their function to be simply carrying out the requirements of law. Some relocation agencies provide a wide range of services, while others provide only two or three. Some agencies work with families who need special types of help over a period of several months; others are liable to have only one brief contact. Some relocation agencies are responsible for serving broad geographic jurisdictions while the geographid domain of others is much more restricted. For example, some organizations providing relocation aid in some of the cities are responsible for only those displacements resulting from single projects, e.g., an urban renewal project, a code enforcement area, a highway corridor, etc. Others are responsible for all displacements caused by governmental action, no matter what the reason. Although the impact of more uniform Federal relocation legislation creates a similar amount of reliance on rules and regulations in all the agencies studied, the complexity of their staffs and decentralization of internal decision-making

Figure 10

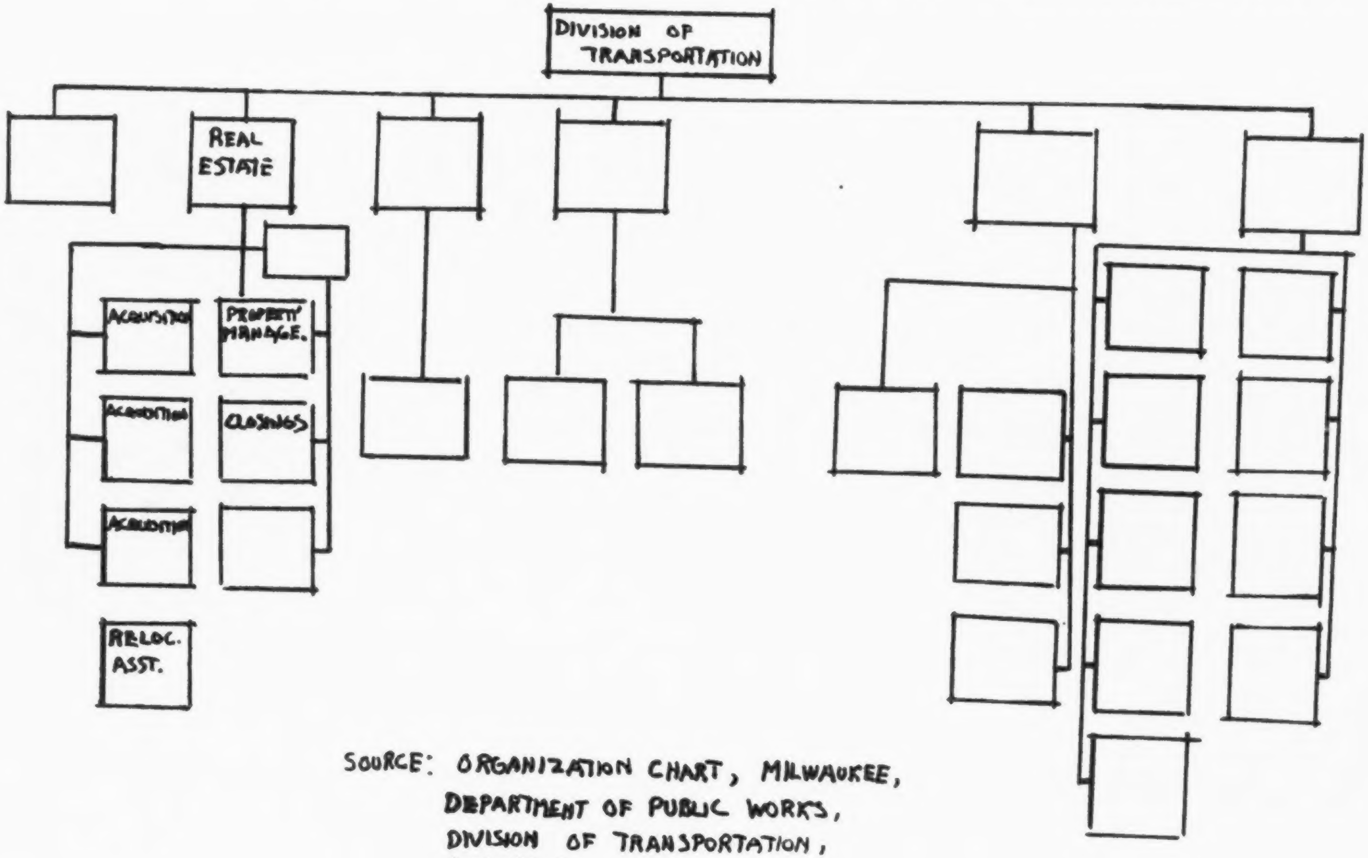
ORGANIZATION CHART I: LOCATION OF RELOCATION FUNCTION


THE HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY IN AND FOR THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS
FIVE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY MAYOR APPROVED BY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
RELOCATN

SOURCE: ORGANIZATION CHART, HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY IN AND FOR THE CITY OF MINNEAPOLIS, JANUARY 10, 1969.

Figure 11

ORGANIZATION CHART II: LOCATION OF RELOCATION FUNCTION


DIVISION OF TRANSPORTATION
REAL ESTATE
ACQUISITION
PROPERTY MANAGE.
ACQUISITION
CLOSINGS
ACQUISITION
RELOC. ASST.

SOURCE: ORGANIZATION CHART, MILWAUKEE,
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS,
DIVISION OF TRANSPORTATION,
AUGUST 30, 1969.

are quite diversified.

Variations among relocation agencies, with respect to organizational properties, are closely associated with varying types and levels of performance. The analysis indicates that the more consolidated a relocation organization's structure, the more active its performance seems to be. Those organizations which were more segmented tended to be more passive. In fact, all of the relocation agencies studied can loosely conform to a continuum of organizational types ranging from the consolidated-active type at the one end to a segmented-passive type at the other. (Refer to Table 21 on page 193 and to Figure 8 on page 195). In order to facilitate discussion of the variations among all of the relocation agencies' systems of properties, those two organizations which best fit the two extremes of the typology and which were found to be in sharpest contrast will be described in detail. The structure and performance features of the remaining relocation agencies fall between these two with respect to the typological continuum. The importance of the following discussion thus lies not in the description of two relocation organizations in the absolute sense, but in the relative sense.

Consolidated-Active Agency

In Minneapolis, a centralized relocation service is authorized to provide assistance to families displaced due to any public physical improvement program.[28] The centralization of the administration of relocation assistance on a city-wide basis enables the identification of a single agency in the public eye and hence increases the "visibility" of the relocation function. Via the director of the Housing and Redevelopment Authority, the relocation director has access to the elected chief executive (See Figure 10).

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[28] Provides relocation assistance in conjunction with highway construction, urban renewal, code enforcement, public housing and public building construction, school construction, and parks development.

The function of the agency, as interpreted by the director, is to be broadly concerned with the lateral dimension of the client.[29] In other words, the philosophy of the Minneapolis agency is similar to that expressed in a statement by Groberg:

> It is more important to take time, the first time, to educate the family and to attend to other problems that might force the family to ignore, or, once in it, to leave standard housing. The 'other problems' center on income and employment; on landlord-tenant relations; on family relations; and on the quality of the housing. This does not mean that a central relocation service could or should assume sole responsibility for all these problems, but it does have a stake in seeing to it that they are solved.[30]

Furthermore, it was a practice of this agency to be concerned with all members of a displaced family. "To provide a relocation service for families and individuals that will result in each site occupant being placed in a standard dwelling within his income abilities and meaningfully improve his whole way of living--ultimately, to make the city a better place to live"—this was the stated objective of the agency.

Services such as homemaking, transportation, real estate counseling, and social counseling are provided in addition to the more ordinary provision of financial assistance and aid in searching for a new and suitable dwelling required by legislation. Should the need arise, other types of services are sought through referral. The geographical domain of the agency is broad and includes the required servicing of individuals affected by public action anywhere within the city limits. The various occupational specialties and backgrounds represented on the staff not only enable the provision of a greater variety of specialized services, but also increase communication within the organization by introducing diversified perspectives. These different ways of viewing things are put to greatest use when they can be discussed in a decentralized decision-making structure. The Minneapolis agency is both administratively and physically decentralized. Of the seventeen staff members, only the director and two clerical workers were located in the central office. The complexity of the Minneapolis organization also reduces the strict dependence on rules and regulations.

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[29] See Chapter IV, p. 167, for a description of the term "lateral" as it is being used here.

[30] Groberg, Centralized Relocation, p. 20.

The more knowledge and interest specialists gain in regard to servicing the client, the more likely there will be a high amount of communication among personnel of different agencies in attempts to acquire new and better methods of response. As rapport between individual employees of different agencies develops, there is a greater chance of more formal relationships to develop among their respective agencies. Also, when individuals are able to outwardly search for and obtain new insights for serving clients better, these new ideas get discussed, and the eventual result is an improvement in quality of client service. Quality of service becomes more important than quantity in such an agency. This is the case in Minneapolis.

The geographic domain of the agency being city-wide means that its program is more likely to be developed in light of broad community objectives. The broadness of interpretation of relocation objectives reflects this notion. The increased autonomy of the relocation director in influencing the use of her agency's resources allows for the addition of new programs and services when they are considered necessary. The need to diversify services sometimes may demand the introduction of new knowledge through staff training sessions, in-service, and/or sensitivity training.

The relocation staff possessed six different occupational specialties. The director was able to influence decisions about the use of organizational resources to a significant degree. The staff also was able to influence decisions regarding the operation and work of the agency. Strict reliance on procedures and regulations was avoided. Furthermore, the director strongly believed in flexible interpretation of Federal relocation requirements and chose to avoid making voluntary attempts at clarifying these requirements.

This relocation organization, twelve months previous to the study, was in contact with approximately 1,850 families and had relocated 1,150. In addition, attempts were and are made to follow up clients and keep track of them as much as possible following a move. The relocation organization exchanges information and resources on a daily basis with a wide variety of community agencies including nursing homes, hospitals, health centers, Social Security offices, the Veteran's Administration, the welfare department, the Board of Education, and others. Although emphasis was placed on the improvement of the existing array of services, the agency engaged in twenty to twenty-five programs through cooperative efforts with other service institutions. This was more than any other relocation agency studied. Several of these efforts were newly created.

This brief review of some of the characteristics of the consolidated-active type of relocation agency gives an idea of the interrelated and consistent nature of its internal structure. The proximity of access to responsible officials provides the relocation director with greater influence and autonomy over the use of organizational resources. The agency can be run in a more flexible manner, allowing for the expansion of services and increased staff participation in decision making.

The organization's characteristics are associated with its performance. The more the relocation agencies studied exhibited the traits found in the Minneapolis agency, the greater was their cooperation with the public school and therefore the chances for the mobile school child to receive some attention. Administrative centralization of the relocation function exposes it more to the school as well.

For example, the relocation agency in Minneapolis referred children to selected compensatory reading sessions, to health care centers, and to various religious-affiliated groups. Five to ten school pupils were directly referred by the relocation agency to the school attendance officer. Also, the relocation staff periodically used school facilities for public hearings and meetings once every two months. Although the indications of special response to mobile school children in general were meager, these existing relationships with the school, along with the fact that the relocation agency shows some interest in helping mobile children, suggests that cooperative response between the school and this type of relocation organization is more likely to develop.

Social Services Contract: A Modification of the Consolidated-Active Type

One way of bringing more flexible services to families who are displaced is through a contractual agreement between the authorized relocation agency and a social services firm as has been done in Milwaukee. The private firm, because of its staff of social work professionals, can facilitate rapport with numerous agencies involved in human services. This modification of the consolidated-active model is a way through which the city relocation office can broaden its lateral interest in all the members of families displaced. Also, the social services agency can encourage cooperation among numerous community service institutions in bringing a more personal response in helping families adjust.

The beneficial aspects of social service contracting are that it adds professional personnel who have expertise in the social services to the staff who normally provide the required relocation assistance. Bringing in professionals who have rapport with the "social services community" through contracting allows high amounts of interorganizational communication as well as strong horizontal attachments with other community service institutions. On the other hand, its performance is bound by the contract with the relocation agency, its autonomy of operation and access to resources depends largely on the position of the relocation agency within the governmental structure, its commitment is relatively temporary, and its "lack of visibility" among more stable and permanent institutions like the school discourages meaningful exchanges.

Segmented-Passive Agency

In Milwaukee, assistance provided by the County Expressway and Transportation Commission is limited to those persons displaced due to proposed highway improvements and construction. The administration of relocation assistance is from one of the six sections of the Division of Transportation. Because of being administered from within the real estate section, the highway relocation operations are somewhat obscured, are bound to using the resources given them, and are less accountable to the public. The relocation function is responsible to the Commission via the transportation director of the Division of Transportation. (See Figure 11.) The passive behavior of this relocation staff partially reflects the importance given to the relocation function relative to that assigned to other functions within the parent organization such as the planning, design and construction of highways, traffic control and transit, and utilities.

The agency has very little lateral and longitudinal interest in the client. In fact, providing the minimal required assistance to displacees seemed to be the objective of the organization. When one respondent was asked, "What are the present objectives of this organization (real estate section) as you see them?" the reply was, "To follow the provision of Wisconsin law: to see that people are given relocation assistance for which they qualify, to inform them of what benefits they are entitled to, and to adhere to the laws." The functional orientation of the organization was primarily the passing on of financial moving assistance, possibly some real estate advice, and help in finding a new house without becoming involved with any other aspect of a displacee's life. In other words, it adhered closely to the provisions of state and Federal relocation legislation and no more.

It was learned through interview that the relocation assistance representative often comes in contact with only one member of a family throughout his whole experience with that family. Strong emphasis is placed on established relocation legislation, guidelines, and interpretation of procedures. There was a high uniformity of occupations exhibited on the relocation staff. With the exception of clerical personnel, the small staff consisted of only real estate specialists. The head of the relocation service was unable to have a significant influence on decisions regarding the use of resources. The staff had little weight in making decisions about its work; they relied heavily on written procedures and regulations. Both the provision of existing services and the addition of new programs were almost totally determined by Federal or state legislation. The geographic domain of the agency was limited to that of a corridor reserved for a proposed highway improvement.

This highway relocation office had been in contact with 370 families during the previous year. The respondent could not give an estimate of the number of families and individuals actually relocated. He stated, "We should keep track, but we don't." The agency seldom followed up clients after a move. It had no regular interorganizational contacts except vertical ones with relocation officials of the state highway department, and officials of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. In most of these meetings procedures rather than the servicing of displacees were the main topic of discussion. This organization had expanded its service by adding an automobile which was sometimes used for transporting families in showing them available housing. It was involved in one cooperative effort with the State Department of Transportation in exploring possibilities with the city for establishing centralized relocation. There was no interaction between this relocation office and the elementary school.

The review of some of the more distinctive properties of this segmented-passive version of the relocation agency, like that of the consolidated-active type, reflects the logical consistency of its internal structure. Neither the director nor staff members possesses much decision-making power over the resources and operations of the agency. The operations of the agency and the assistance given clients are a direct function of state and Federal policies and programs. There is strong adherence to policies and rules.

The rigid application of procedures is compatible with the high uniformity among the occupational specialties of staff members, for general agreement on work matters is facilitated when there is relatively little encroachment of "outside" ideas from professionals in other fields; this consensus is more likely to be represented in formal rules. In addition, the analysis shows that the segmented relocation agency tends to place emphasis on staff work experience as a source of training rather than on more professional and/or periodic "outside" education. When this is the case, day-to-day operations of an organization will more likely be molded into standard procedures; the new ideas brought into the organization by staff members are limited,

Reliance on formalized procedures results in a routine response to clients, no matter what their particular needs. The relocation agency with a limited function and geographic orientation, such as this highway-oriented one, views its operations within a restricted framework. For example, relocation carried out for freeway development is seen as serving only the objectives of highway building (e.g., "getting the project completed" and getting the people and houses out of the way) rather than broader human development and community objectives. Finally, the segmented-passive agency which has a narrow lateral interest in the family was found to have no special concern for the child and little propensity for engaging in relations with other agencies.

One-Man Service: A Modification of Segmented-Passive

A modification of the segmented-passive approach to providing relocation services is the one-man service. In three cases, relocation "officers" employed by a city school board, a county parks department, and a metropolitan housing authority, respectively, were the sole individuals responsible for providing relocation assistance to persons displaced by the particular projects administered by their agencies. Furthermore, the relocation assistance function was only a portion of each of these individuals' total work responsibility. For example, the individual responsible for relocating families displaced for the purpose of county park development spent most of his time supervising a staff of landscape architects.

The man responsible for providing relocation services for the metropolitan housing authority personally relocated 120 families and seventy-nine individuals within a period of one year. The time demands on a person who is individually responsible to look for relocation housing, guide displacees into housing and provide them with real estate advice, in addition to performing additional work responsibilities assigned to him by his organization, does not allow for anything more than a highly efficient, impersonal, and routine treatment of displacees. Furthermore, the burden of work placed on an individual in such a situation seriously limits the chances for him to develop many interorganizational contacts or to detect any special needs of children.

Summary

In the second portion of this chapter the variations in the structure and performance of ten relocation agencies have been the subject of discussion. These variations were described by placing the agencies on a hypothetical continuum. The forms of relocation agencies ranged from the consolidated-active to the segmented-passive. The analysis showed the interplay of that system of organizational features which seem to be associated with a propensity to mount a cooperative response to the mobile child--assuming that where interaction already exists with the school stronger relationships to this effect would be more likely.

The findings of this study indicate that relocation agencies which are centrally administered, physically decentralized, and having a city-wide domain, a diversity of occupational specialties, and a decentralized decision-making structure with high amounts of intra-organizational communication tend to have more interorganizational relations, a broad lateral interest in the client, and an ability to respond to a greater variety of client needs. Despite this fact, the actual amount of attention paid the school child by the relocation agency was meager. The types of attention paid him were through referrals made to the school and administrative check-ups, which do not, in themselves, represent any direct response to the child. For reasons described earlier in this chapter and in Chapter III, the chances are small that the child received any special assistance from the school following referral by the relocation agency.[31] Administrative check-ups merely served the purpose of notifying a school attendance officer of a child's transfer.

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[31] See pp. 128-134, 218-221.

Thus the findings show that the mobile school child was the recipient of little cooperative attention from the relocation agency and the public school in spite of the variations in relocation agency structure and performance. The final chapter summarizes the study and its findings, gives some attention to the limitations of the study, and discusses the implications of the findings within the context of public policy development.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND LESSONS FOR POLICY

The objectives of this research were threefold. First, it reviewed the intensity of mobility in four cities, together with the potential effects of mobility on the inner-city school pupil. Second, it examined the nature and extent of the cooperation existing between elementary schools and relocation agencies in four cities, especially that which was directed at helping the child transferring schools. Finally, the research attempted to identify salient organizational characteristics of both the school and relocation agencies which are associated with the nature and extent of cooperation between them. The study assumed that interaction is dependent on each organization's vertical access to resources, function, domain consensus, organizational complexity, degree of decentralization, and formalization.

A Review of the Study

Within sections of large central cities, particularly those predominantly composed of low income families, the amount of residential mobility is high. Families move for a variety of reasons related to family life-cycle changes, status aspirations, location of employment, social ties, environmental desires, public policy decisions, and available financial resources. Lower income families within the inner city, however, are more prone to move for reasons largely beyond their control.

Moving can produce numerous stresses on a family. The seriousness of these stresses depends largely on the particular conditions surrounding the move. Stresses on individual family members caused by their going through transitional periods can interfere with their ability to adapt quickly and gain a sense of stability in their new situation. The potential effects of mobility on a school child in a low income family was the particular concern of this study.

Effects of Mobility

Numerous studies have been completed which have attempted to measure the relationship between school pupil turnover and academic progress. Although these studies encompass a wide variety of investigative styles and assumptions, those which deal particularly with students from low income families tell the same story; pupil mobility is associated with lower patterns of performance. These relationships seem to be a result of the myriad types and combinations of environmental influences which can affect a child who moves within an inner-city setting. Factors such as the child's personality characteristics, stresses on the family created by moving, attitudes of family members caused by a move, parental deprivation, the treatment the child receives from the school, the change in peer relationships, and the change in physical environment all potentially have a unique effect on the manner, the degree, and the speed with which a child survives a transition. Of course, due to the complex nature of his environment, the intellectual and emotional development of the urban child can be dependent on many added factors including more fundamental ones of health, nutrition, and housing.

For children with more than their fair share of difficulties, the way in which institutions respond to them becomes an important issue. The complex nature of the child's difficulties demands a cooperative effort on the part of functionally separate organizations. Also, the varied needs of children demand that these institutions be able to mount both a sensitive and flexible response.

Recognizing the fact that the inner-city child is influenced by many institutions--both public and private, formal and informal--the focus of this study is severely limited since it deals with but two institutions in the public sector. Furthermore, the fact that it is an exploratory comparative study of these institutions in four cities means that the findings can and should be treated as being tentative; they cannot serve as a base from which to make broad generalizations. The results of the study do, however, add to the small but growing body of knowledge regarding relationships between organizations, and they have implications for the public planning function.

Cooperative Institutional Response

This research showed that the relocation agencies and schools studied within the four cities hardly responded at all to the mobile school child. The extent of response from both types of organization was meager. The school's response was largely a matter of token efforts, the individual initiative of school personnel, and conscious neglect of the child. The relocation agency's response to the child was primarily represented by referral and administrative checks. Although it was seldom in direct response to the child, a minimal amount of cooperation did exist between schools and particular relocation agencies; such interaction took the form of personnel acquaintance, advisory committees, referrals, interagency meetings, and the sharing of facilities.

Although another limitation of this study is that it failed to examine thoroughly the effectiveness of cooperation which did exist, the findings do strongly suggest the need for strengthening cooperation between schools and relocation agencies for the sake of the school child who moves. The existing deficiencies in relocation/school cooperation highlight their past failure to take into account sufficiently the interrelationships of their activities and to integrate them in light of desired human development objectives. The expected continuance of demand for their cooperation in the future (or that of their organizational equivalents) highlights the importance of better understanding organizational behavior so that desired behavior can be consciously directed and encouraged through the public planning process.

Placing the Study in Perspective

It is the purpose of the remaining portion of this chapter to discuss the implications of the findings for the public planning function. According to Dimock and Dimock, planning is "clarifying one's objectives and then determining what action shall be taken by whom, when, by what methods, and at what costs in order to achieve the desired goals."[1] Public planning shall be defined here as a process which involves certain inherent activities--the formulation of goals, the acquisition of background data or information, the selection of the most viable alternative means with which to accomplish objectives--which are applied toward the social, economic, and physical development of communities, local and regional.

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[1] Marshall Edward Dimock and Gladys Ogden Dimock, Public Administration (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1964), p. 131.

If public planning is to be successful, it must not only be concerned with the content of the plans, but must give adequate attention to the procedures by which a plan becomes an integral part of government. Those individuals whose roles are to plan should be cognizant of societal trends, as well as be able to know what influences can be brought to bear to guide development closer to desired social objectives.

It is becoming clearer that if planning is to be successful in steering the activities of institutions with interrelated activities and creating viable organizational arrangements, much more must be known about not only the characteristics and structure of individual institutions, the interrelationship among separately administered programs, the nature and extent of cooperation among them, and the consequences and effectiveness of such cooperation, but also the reasons for their behaviors and how, if need be, they can be changed. More knowledge gained in these areas will aid in understanding those criteria which constitute the normative structure of organizational cooperation in particular situations--in knowing what organizational characteristics and behaviors "should" be encouraged in serving social and physical development objectives.

Through the analysis of relationships between the elementary schools and relocation agencies in this study, we have been able to begin to understand not only the nature and extent of interaction between these organizations, but also what characteristics seem to encourage or hinder cooperation between them. Both the analysis of findings and organizational theories suggest that certain features of schools and relocation agencies are associated with cooperation. It has been assumed that where cooperation already exists, the propensity for the development of cooperative response to the school child is greater.

The study's findings related to organizational behavior are summarized in the following postulates:

(a) The less vertical attachment between an organization and its source of resources (the forces which control them), the more autonomy it is likely to have in influencing their use and carrying out its activities.

(b) The greater the lateral and longitudinal[2] interest a service agency has in its clients, the greater its need for relationships with other organizations.

(c) The broader the domain of an organization with respect to purpose, skills, clientele, and geography, the more it will be recognized by other organizations.

(d) The greater the diversity of an organization's staff, the greater the likelihood that its services and response to clients will change.

(e) The more influence all members of an organization's staff have over decisions, the greater the communication within the organization and engagement in informal contacts with other organizations.

(f) The less an organization's staff must rely on rules and regulations for guidance, the more freedom from restraints staff members will have in dealing with clients.

Each of these postulates was found to be generally accurate with respect to explaining the behavior of the relocation agencies and schools examined in this study. Theoretically, the more each organization studied conformed to all of the six postulates as stated, the stronger was their cooperation. One exception was in the case of the schools' domain, which in addition to contributing to its "exposure" was related to defensive behavior which hindered chances for cooperation. With respect to these postulates, the characteristics of the school indicated little propensity for interaction. Although it is difficult to ascertain a measure for sure, the mere fact of the schools' isolation and inability to initiate interaction may have played a part in stimulating relocation agencies to initiate interaction.

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[2] See discussion of Lefton and Rosengren, "Organizations and Clients," in Chapter IV, pp. 167-170.

The characteristics of the relocation agencies varied in relation to cooperative behavior. The more their structure resembled a "consolidated" pattern, the greater their interaction. Those with more "segmented" structures did not engage in much or any interaction with the school.

Strategies for Influencing Organizational Response

By drawing from organizational theory, the findings of this study, the author's knowledge of planning, and historical examples, the remaining portion of this chapter describes seven strategies which the public planning function would employ to encourage or promote cooperative efforts between the school and relocation agencies in the interest of the mobile school child. These strategies are designed to provoke thought and are presented here as hypotheses which need further refinement and testing. The seven strategies are institutional neglect, institutional location, institutional guidance, institutional integration, institutional change, institutional interaction, and institutional elimination. In application they need not be mutually exclusive, but they are separated here to facilitate description.

Strategy of Neglect

The strategy of institutional neglect is based on the assumption that evolutionary changes in an organization will reflect environmental pressures and, over time, will sufficiently respond to the needs and desires of the people. Since it is assumed that institutions attempt to operate in the best possible way to achieve their particular goals, and that their future survival as institutions is dependent on public acceptance, the best and easiest strategy is to do nothing.

Organizations operating within complicated environments are constantly adapting to changes in their surroundings. Although the evolution of organizational change can be painstakingly slow and not always in desired directions, organizations will change without the help of conscious planning efforts. For example, there will always be new state and Federal legislation, demands of political pressure groups, changes made by administrators, decisions made by public officials, and complaints of clients. Such influences will change organizational structure and programs, eliminate some, and add others.

Although it is somewhat less amenable to change, the school system adapts to changing environmental pressures; thus, it evolves. Several of the current influences on the structure of urban school systems have to do with the many groups who have an interest in influencing educational policy. They have become impatient with the school's response to social change and are calling for a radical redistribution of power and massive curriculum changes.[3] Growing fragmentation of influence over school decision-making in central city systems has been attributed to trends such as the growing militancy of teachers and the intensifying quest for ethnic identity and citizen control over neighborhood schools.[4]

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[3] Lawrence Iannaccone, Politics in Education (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1967), pp. 82-98.

Relocation agencies adapt and change over time as well. An excellent case study describing the provision of relocation services in New Haven, Connecticut, shows the evolution of the structure and practices of the relocation agency over a period of ten years. The relocation director concludes that:

> The national programs--legislative and regulatory--for relocation benefits, for open housing, for increased housing opportunities for low income families, proved responsive indeed to the needs we local administrators were discovering along the way. . . . New programs, increased financial assistance, better opportunities to provide aid to families were regularly being added. Not always enough, perhaps, and not always soon enough--but, in our job, every bit helped.
>
> . . . the FRO [Family Relocation Office] was sometimes the initiator, sometimes a participant, and always an enthusiastic supporter of the need for new approaches. I'm sure that's because the FRO lived daily and was daily involved with the frustrations and seeming hopelessness of the problems that needed solving.[5]

When the strategy of institutional neglect is practiced by the planner, the particular form of interorganizational relations which evolve are strictly dependent upon the evolving needs and areas of consensus among institutions; i.e., the pressures they unconsciously exert on one another. Interagency cooperation also adapts to the changing needs of a population, changing methods of treatment, and changing concepts in professional practice.[6]

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[4] Meranto, "Emerging Participation Patterns."

[5] Mermin, Relocating Families, pp. 125-126.

[6] Bertram J. Black and Harold M. Kase, "Interagency Co-operation in Rehabilitation and Mental Health," Social Service Review, XXXVII (March, 1963), 26-27.

Strategy of Location

The strategy of location is based on the assumption that interaction between two or more institutions is dependent to some extent on the placement of institutional physical facilities relative to one another. For example, where selected institutional facilities are located near one another or are shared, there is greater likelihood that the organizations will do certain things together. Just what they do and the way they do it, however, is not a result of their location *per se*.

For a long time, urban planners in locating physical facilities have placed high value on convenience of access to services and efficiency in their operation.[7] In many cases the location of institutions for these reasons has unintentionally encouraged certain types of behavior on the part of the tenant institutions.

In numerous cities, the locating of various types of services close together has proved to be both a convenient and an effective way of increasing interorganizational relations and providing flexible service to residents of inner-city neighborhoods. In this way there can be a multi-service arrangement which brings a variety of skills and disciplines to bear on the totality of a person's difficulties. Simply by placing different services close to one another, personnel of different service agencies will not only become aware of one another's functions, but will be encouraged to communicate and reciprocate regarding their response to persons with diversified needs.

The concept of physical proximity could be used to bring the operations of the relocation agency and school closer together. For example, the provision of different types of family services, including those normally provided by the relocation agency, via the "neighborhood service center" concept would encourage interorganizational contacts among agencies, provide a diversification of specialists at one location and tend to demand a relatively decentralized decision-making system among agencies, as well as create a more visible community institution with a broad function. The location of medical treatment, health, dental, psychological counseling, homemaking, relocation, welfare, employment and training services all at one spot could augment the potential for these services to be recognized by the public school. Such a center might serve as a receiving and sending station for persons moving into and out of the neighborhood.

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[7] F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., *Urban Land Use Planning* (2nd ed.; Urbana:

The location of certain service institutions near or in the school itself would encourage interaction. Recently there has been a growing recognition of the necessity of viewing the school as an institution serving the total local community. Fundamental to many of those who hold this viewpoint is the notion that the school facility itself should serve as a "community" school and provide either the physical facilities or the medium for coordination of neighborhood branches of a city's social agencies.

Trends seem to indicate that there is a move toward a physical meld of school and city which should be of significance to those who plan and design educational institutions within inner-city areas. Planners, however, seem to have failed to recognize this trend for, in most cases, school facilities still are planned and located as "islands"

University of Illinois Press, 1965).

within the inner city.[8]

The thoughtful placement of institutional facilities can have a desirable effect on the servicing of residents and children. In addition to shifting the response of service institutions from one of a separately run, fragmented nature to one of a problem-oriented, coalitional nature, this strategy has other advantages related to neighborhood control and decentralization of municipal services.[9]

The potential disadvantages of pursuing a strategy of physical proximity include the problems arising from attempts to maintain the autonomy of individual service organizations. Also, in terms of servicing members of families who move, the location (with respect to the neighborhood) would be crucial to its success. Since conditions and values of inner-city neighborhoods continually evolve, influencing the propensity for people to move into or out of them at any one time, the process of selecting a location for a service center for relocation purposes would have to take cognizance of the life-stages of various neighborhoods.[10]

Strategy of Guidance

The strategy of guidance is based on the assumptions that public institutions with different objectives must be given some central direction so that they work in a more coherent fashion and that broad level policies can be useful in influencing their operations. It is a strategy based on rationality. The successful utilization of this strategy depends much on the shaping of policies which serve broad public objectives. Policies are guidelines or stated intentions which give direction to and help shape decision making and more specified courses of action.[11] There may actually be a range of policy levels according to their degrees of generality. The first level would take the form of one or several broad goals. An intermediate level would identify the kinds of actions which could be employed to achieve various objectives. The third level would be sets of specified proposals and action-oriented program recommendations which would be consistent with and guided by the broader level policy. Policies at all levels of generality are intended to guide institutional practices but not necessarily their structure.

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[8] Harold B. Gores, "Educational Facilities for the Urban Disadvantaged," in Resources for Urban Schools: Better Use and Balance, ed. by Sterling M. McMurrin (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1971), pp. 76-95.

[9] National Commission on Urban Problems, Building the American City, pp. 346-354.

[10] David L. Birch, "Toward a Stage Theory of Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXVII (March, 1971), 78-87.

There are a number of methods by which the actions of public institutions can be centrally managed and guided in desired directions, such as via the sending of memoranda, control of budgets and use of selected financial planning techniques, as well as the presence of broad policy or policy plan--both legislated and inferred. Methods such as the popular planning-programming-budgeting system (PPBS) initially employed by the Department of Defense can relate programs of various functional bureaucracies to objectives, consider alternative means of reaching objectives, and relate various institutional programs to financial resources. Thus the use of PPBS by policy makers is one example of how the behavior of numerous and diverse agencies can be assured to conform generally to an acceptable pattern.

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[11] Franklyn H. Beal, "Defining Development Objectives," in Principles and Practice of Urban Planning, ed. by William I. Goodman and Eric C. Freund (Washington, D. C.: International City Managers Association, 1968), pp. 327-348.

The strategy of institutional guidance applied to the primary subjects of this research would resemble a broad governmental policy or set of objectives which would give special consideration to the school child and thus guide institutions to serve that end. For example, a policy which would minimize all public projects which necessitate the demolition of existing housing, thus forcing families to move might be replaced by one which emphasizes the rehabilitation of existing housing so that families would not have to move permanently from the neighborhood and children would not have to transfer schools. Another policy which might encourage institutions to minimize the mobility of the school child would be to provide temporary replacement housing (e.g., mobile home units, etc.) within the present neighborhood to families whose dwellings are being rehabilitated so that they require temporary dislocation. Other policies might have to do with bussing relocated children back to their original neighborhood schools until the termination of the current school year in order to avoid transferring. Another policy might be one of offering families who have school children some sort of an incentive not to move. No matter what the specific nature of the policy, the above serve as examples of broadly stated intentions which would tend to guide the behavior of certain institutions in serving the interest of the potentially mobile school child. They exemplify the application of the strategy of guidance.

Strategy of Integration

The strategy of institutional integration is based upon the assumption that when diverse agencies are brought together under an "organizational umbrella," at least temporarily, they will communicate more with one another, work out their differences, and thus work well together toward serving any one community issue. The degree of integration can vary from permanent merger of two or more organizations to the creation of a mechanism through which organizational views can be communicated. Thus the strategy might involve the consolidation of two or more organizations (or activities) or the creation of a coordinating body composed of representatives of two or more agencies whose functional interests are diverse, but whose reasons for communicating and working together are common.

The advantages of integration are savings in overhead and elimination of duplication; it at least implies a sharing and a willingness to keep communication open so that duplications and inefficiencies will not develop.[12] The disadvantage is the ever-present realization of the potential loss of autonomy or function on the part of any individual organization and the protective milieu which results, severely limiting the integrative potential.

The strategy of integration was greatly popularized among local and regional governments during the late 1960's in response to the increasing proliferation of Federal domestic programs. For example,

> By 1967 more than a dozen types of federally initiated coordinating structures could be counted: community action agencies, city demonstration agencies, resource conservation and development

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[12] Black and Kase, "Interagency Co-operation," 28.

> projects, rural renewal programs, rural areas development committees, technical action panels, concerted services coordinators, economic development districts, overall economic development program committees, cooperative area manpower planning systems, Appalachian local development districts, comprehensive area health planning agencies, councils of governments, pilot neighborhood centers, and metropolitan planning districts.[13]

Institutional integration is not a relatively recent phenomenon either. Agencies related to urban social planning in the United States are believed to have first appeared around 1909 and were intended to foster communication and coordination among the various social agencies of a community in order "to eliminate overlapping and duplication of effort and thus to move from a collection of unrelated individual programs toward a coherent community program."[14]

Other integrative devices existing today in the social services arena which attempt to serve similar objectives are the social service exchange, case conference, welfare resources directory, community information service, as well as coordinating councils.[15] They are mechanisms through which organizational views can be communicated. As this study discovered, both schools and relocation agencies participate in various forms of integrative mechanisms, including interagency advisory boards and coordinating councils.

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[13] "Organizing U. S. Social and Economic Development," Public Administration Review, XXX (November/December, 1970), 626. This article reviews highlights from James L. Sunquist with David W. Davis, Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Community Level (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1969).

[14] Wayne McMillen, "Urban and Regional Welfare Planning," Encyclopedia of Social Work, p. 802.

[15] Wilensky and Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare, pp. 259-265.

Strategy of Change

The strategy of institutional change is based upon the assumption that an institution or group of institutions is unable to serve its objectives adequately, to serve broader community objectives, or to engage in relations with external organizations due to the particular nature of its internal structure. Thus the strategy is that the deficient institution should be changed in some fashion so that it can adequately respond to the needs and desires of the people it is meant to serve. The strategy of institutional change can vary greatly in application; it can take the form of a simple administrative reorganization (i.e., a symbolic reshuffling of the organization chart) or it can be a change of a much more fundamental nature such as change in techniques, types of personnel, operational philosophy, and so forth. No matter how serious, some persons usually lose while others benefit from this type of change.

The city school has been the focus of a number of different strategies of change. Many prescriptions for urban educational change emphasize the need to reduce vertical dependency of the institution. Probably the most familiar is that of school decentralization--or at least decentralization of selected aspects of public school administration. The prime reasoning behind most urban school decentralization proposals is to facilitate the adjustment of curricula and programs according to local requirements and to encourage better school-community relationships.[16]

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[16] City of Chicago, The Comprehensive Plan of Chicago: Summary Report (Chicago: Department of Development and Planning, 1967), p. 14.

Prescriptions calling for educational change of a more fundamental nature range from the voucher plan, which would enable each student to buy the education of his choice on an open market, to shifting the responsibility for education to the media and to apprenticeship on the job. Other prescriptions include a dispersal of free schools throughout the society, reformation of the school classroom, and the development of "society as the classroom." All of these pr[illegible]criptions call for a dramatic change in educational institutions. Furthermore, they state implicitly that if realized, the effect would be an educational institution fully responsive to the needs of the individual student, which might substantially reduce the need for relationships with relocation-type agencies.

Another way of applying the strategy of institutional change is to broaden the function of the organization and its "interest in the client." The addition of special units to handle special problems or people, such as was done within the Milwaukee School System, is an example of this form of institutional change. Also, a logical outcome of the recognition of the need to provide fuller services to families who move might be the substantial broadening of the relocation function into a comprehensive resettlement structure similar to that which provides refugee services in this country as well as others.

For example, refugees from Poland are received and provided with comprehensive resettlement services in West Germany.

> On arrival at the hospital-clean refugee camp, the newcomers are fed a hearty breakfast, and over the next four days they are given medical checkups, newspapers, job counseling and briefings. When the refugees are ready to leave camp, the Bonn government provides each family of four with the equivalent of $200; the newcomers are also entitled to reimbursement for visa and travel

> expenses. In labor-short West Germany, where 900,000 jobs are open, the refugees should have no trouble finding jobs.[17]

Other forms of institutional change might take the form of increasing an organization's occupational diversity, increasing or decreasing the rules and regulations, altering the system of rewards, or effecting some other internal manipulation. Again, the strategy of institutional change is primarily focused on that institution or set of institutions which is believed to be deficient in behavior.

Strategy of Interaction

The strategy of institutional interaction is based on the assumption that institutions which operate within a complex environment must be consciously interrelated to be fully responsive to the interrelatedness of their environment. The successful application of the strategy of purposive interaction demands an understanding not only of the structure and operations of institutions affecting any one issue, but also of the inconsistencies and consistencies among them and the effects of their interdependencies. In other words, the effect achieved by the actions of one institution greatly depends on the actions of numerous institutions, and these synergistic effects must be understood and guided to achieve a desired end.

For example, organizations within the inner city are parts of a complicated organizational network operating within a similar "field." Welfare, housing, and law enforcement, as well as educational and relocation agencies, together influence a child's ability to achieve in school. To serve the interest of the child, mechanisms must be created in the interorganizational field which will make these agencies respond to the child in a coordinated manner. To take the necessary action, however, will become increasingly difficult.

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[17] "Refugees: Two Kinds of Exodus," Time, February 8, 1971, p. 31.

Emery and Trist have pointed out that "environmental contexts in which organizations exist are . . . changing, at an increasing rate, and towards increasing complexity."[18] In developing a typology of four different environmental "textures" ranging from a placid, randomized environment to the turbulent field environment, they discuss various characteristics and behavior patterns common to each texture. In addition to the increased complexity of interorganizational relationships of the third "texture," the turbulent field has a new feature in that "the dynamic properties arise not simply from the interaction of the component organizations, but also from the field itself."[19] This turbulent field closely approximates the organizational environment of a large central city. In these circumstances "individual organizations, however large, cannot expect to adapt successfully simply through their own direct actions."[20]

Roland Warren restates the problem when he says that in large cities today, organizations are all seeking from within their own individual spheres to rationalize their operations. However, such organizations--including the school and relocation organization--interacting loosely "often affect one another adversely or favorably, but with little or no concert, and with few clearly defined norms governing the interaction"; although the interorganizational texture is turbulent, it is also "opaque."[21] The response to this condition often takes the form of centralizing or integrating interrelated activities and creating new organizations. The Model Cities concept or council of social agencies are both examples of such a reaction.

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[18] S. E. Emery and E. L. Trist, "The Causal Texture of Organizational Environments," Human Relations, XVIII (February, 1965), 21.

[19] Ibid., 26.

[20] Ibid., 28.

The alternative to the centralization of activities inherent in the strategy of integration is to deal with the interorganizational field directly and attempt to reduce its "opaqueness." Warren, for example, says that organizations would thus be able to adapt their behavior to each other in a more deliberate way: "They could retain their present relative autonomy, but through more comprehensive knowledge of each other's policies, plans, and programs, could better influence decisions where their respective values reinforced each other, and perhaps even reduce some of the value conflicts."[22]

The manipulation of the interorganizational field need not be for the purpose of establishing consensus, but can also be used to encourage less orderly, more chaotic results to effect certain changes among institutions. For example, conflict could be encouraged, the result being exposure of an issue for public debate and the eventual development of pressures for certain institutional changes to take place. The judicial, executive, and legislative branches of our government provide an excellent example of how the interorganizational field (a formal system of checks and balances) serves as a mechanism through which consensus is established and debatable issues brought out into the open.

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[21] Warren, "The Interorganizational Field," 397-399. "Opaque" refers to the seeming remoteness and obscurity of one organization from the point of view of another, especially in terms of transferring intelligible stimuli and relating to one another. See p. 417.

[22] _Ibid._, 417.

The following are some more concrete examples of how the application of the strategy of interaction might be applied to the school and relocation agency. Procedures may be set up which formalize relationships between these two organizations. The temporary placement of relocation personnel within schools experiencing heavy in-migration might be exchanged for access to school information regarding the movement of families. The setting up of specific procedures through which proposed city development policy and its ramifications in terms of future population mobility could be promptly communicated so that other institutions like the school could anticipate adjustment to expected changes is another possibility.

The establishment of a program of lending staff members among numerous institutions is another method of increasing domain recognition through application of the strategy of interaction. In any case, this strategy means that there is a conscious effort on the part of the planning function to develop interactive mechanisms among issue-related organizations, based on considerations of the values of each organization. The strategy necessitates that research and thought be given to the development and characteristics of such mechanisms, and to the potential consequences they have for individual organizational programs and response to the individual served.

Strategy of Elimination

The strategy of institutional elimination is based on the assumption that existing institutional structures are antithetical to the maximization of desired social values related to fulfillment of the individual, freedom and democracy. Because of this, they cannot be tolerated. All institutions seem to be both a part of and influenced by a huge, stumbling and unguided bureaucratic monster--an administrative state in which operating principles are based on rationality, order, efficiency, and hierarchical authority. These qualities make the state unable to respond to a diverse range of human needs or to support total democratic involvement--active human participation that is creative, innovative and effective.[23] Furthermore, according to assumption, as long as institutions remain tied to this seemingly rigid and uncontrollable state, there can be little hope for fully satisfying human desires in the future. The destruction of institutions and creation of totally new ones thus seems to be the only viable alternative.

Belief in the strategy of elimination is based on the notion that the previous six strategies would be bound to fail in effecting institutional response due to the inherent nature of the larger organizational state to which they are attached. Thus to attempt merely to rearrange existing institutions to gain a desired effect is not enough, for this is to strengthen something which has failed in the past (for reasons largely beyond control) and which would serve to perpetuate unresponsiveness. Overthrow of individual institutions and the values they regard highly is the prescription in order to go beyond what institutions define as legitimate to achieve.

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[23] See Alan S. Kravitz, "Advocacy and Beyond," in Planning 1968, Selected Papers from the ASPO National Planning Conference, San Francisco, May 4-9, 1968 (Chicago: American Society of Planning Officials, 1968), pp. 38-46.

For example, the purpose of the relocation agency is to provide displacees with the minimum amount of assistance in moving. The organizational state to which it is attached, however, forces regulation of exactly who is qualified for assistance, how much is allotted, how it is spent, and whether regulations are being followed. This is even more true of the public school. An apparatus is developed for checking up, for keeping records, for making and enforcing rules, and for punishing infractions, and administrative requirements subvert the original intentions of the organization.[24] The organizations classified as segmented-passive in particular exhibited such qualities.

Those who support the strategy of elimination, then, feel that if such institutions are allowed to continue there will be little or no chance for fundamental reform, which is needed to make effective institutional response possible.

* * * * *

Although the seven strategies for influencing organizational response are often combined in practice, each can be associated hypothetically with a role assumed by public planners in society. The urban designer-engineer, land use planner, policy planner, coordinator, advocate planner, synergist, and radical planner--each seems to take a different view of his role in influencing institutional performance. The roles he assumes and the strategies he emphasizes in dealing with institutions are grounded in certain stated and unstated assumptions regarding the responsiveness of institutions.

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[24] See Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Bantam, 1971), pp. 103-109.

The strategies which planners use to effect institutional behavior must be given more thought and must be evaluated much more closely. This study suggests that certain assumptions held in four cities regarding the response of the public elementary school and relocation agency were false.

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS: PUPIL MOBILITY STATISTICS

Cleveland (Refer to p. 81 in text)

Mobility: Mobility is defined by Cleveland School System as an accounting of any public school pupil who left or entered school as the result of residential change or leaving school. The sum of all pupil movement (transfers, entries, and withdrawals) over the average daily enrollment gives the mobility rate.

Transfer: A pupil who moves in or out of a Cleveland Public School. Grade level promotions are not included.

Entry: An entry is a pupil who comes into a Cleveland Public School from other school systems.

Withdrawal: A pupil who leaves the Public School System.

Detroit (Refer to p. 81 in text)

Mobility: Mobility is defined by Detroit Public Schools as a student transfer which results from the moving of parents. To obtain mobility figures, the following parental moves were included:

(1) from one school area in Detroit to another school area in Detroit.
(2) from a Detroit school to another Michigan school district outside of Detroit.
(3) from a Detroit school to another state.
(4) from Michigan or another state to Detroit.
(5) from present location to parts unknown.

In order that the figures can properly represent these moves as best as possible, the following designations were used.

Received by Transfer: Deducted from this figure were the following:

(1) transfers to buildings where space was made available.
(2) transfers to a special class in another school.
(3) transfers due to graduation.
(4) transfers allowed by permit.

Lost by Transfer: Deducted from this figure were the following:

(1) transfers to institutions.
(2) transfers allowed by permit.

(3) under- and over-age dismissals.
(4) transfers or losses due to illness, maladjustment, death, and other causes which did not involve moving of parents.

The figures for Received by Transfer and Lost by Transfer, as they appear in the actual data, represent all transfers. The deductions mentioned above were consolidated into one data column entitled Semester Promotions and Organizational Changes, and that figure was subtracted from the total number of transfers in arriving at a mobility rate.

Milwaukee (Refer to p. 87 in text)

Mobility: The mobility rate is defined as the number of entrants plus the number of discharges over the number of entrants as of September, 1968.

Entrants: According to the Department of Educational Research and Program Assessment of the Milwaukee Public Schools, the term "entrant" may or may not include all new entering students (kindergarten); otherwise, it includes all transfers, readmits, reenrolls, received, organizational transfers, etc., except for bussed students who are counted at the school where they are registered.

Discharge: All pupils leaving the Milwaukee Public Schools are counted as discharged. The term may or may not include grade promotions.

Minneapolis (Refer to p. 79 in text)

Mobility: Mobility is defined by Minneapolis Public Schools as the sum of the number of new enrollees (admits, readmits, reenrolls, received) and the number who leave (transfers, withdrawals) over the average number belonging.

Not included in the above are:
(1) all children who are entering school for the first time.
(2) all children promoted from elementary school to junior high.

Admit: Each child is recorded once and only once as an admit, which is when he enters the Minneapolis School System for the first time, either as a kindergartener or when coming from another school system.

Readmit: A pupil who leaves and returns to the Minneapolis School System within one school year.

Reenroll: A pupil who leaves and returns to the Minneapolis School System in some later year.

Received: A Minneapolis School receiving a student from another Minneapolis school marks the student as received.

Transferred: A Minneapolis School transferring a student to another Minneapolis School marks the student as transferred.

Withdrawal: A pupil who leaves the Minneapolis School System for any reason other than being promoted to another building is recorded as a withdrawal.

April-May, 1970

APPENDIX B

INNER-CITY ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

COVER SHEET

Interviewer:____________________ Int. No.: _______________

THE RESPONDENT IS EITHER A DIRECTOR OF A RELOCATION AGENCY, A STAFF MEMBER OF A RELOCATION AGENCY, A PRINCIPAL OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL, OR A STAFF MEMBER OF A PUBLIC SCHOOL DESIGNATED BY THE PRINCIPAL

CALL BOX

Call No.	Date	Hour	Result of Each Call

NON-INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Reason for non-interview: ______________________________

INNER-CITY ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY

I. A number of service organizations operating within (NAME OF CITY) are being studied. The purpose of conducting such a study is to better understand the operations of these organizations, but especially, the relationships which exist among them. Our questions involve a number of aspects of the daily operations of this organization and we think you will find them interesting.

1. To begin with, we would like to ask you a few questions about your job in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION). What title--or titles--do you have?

   (1) ____________________

   (2) ____________________

   (3) ____________________

2. What duty in connection with your job here takes up the major portion of your time?

   ____

   ____

3. Would you describe your job as being highly routine, somewhat routine, somewhat non-routine, or highly non-routine?

   /Highly routine/ /Somewhat routine/

   /Somewhat non-routine/ /Highly non-routine/

3a. Why do you say that? ____________________

   ____

(IF RESPONDENT IS A STAFF MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION, GO TO SECTION IIB. OF SCHEDULE)

(IF RESPONDENT IS THE DIRECTOR OF THE ORGANIZATION, GO TO SECTION IIA. OF SCHEDULE)

Int. No.: __________ Date: __________ Time Started: __________

(FOR DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION ONLY)

IIA. Now, we would like to ask some questions about the general purpose and nature of your organization, such as its history, its objectives, and the people it serves. Let's begin with its past.

4. When was it founded? ____________________

5. When it was founded, what were its major objectives? __________

____

____

6. What were the programs and services offered by your organization when it first began? ____________________

____

____

7. Thinking about your organization at the present time, how have the programs and services changed since the inception of your organization? ____________________

____

____

8. What are the present objectives of this organization, as you see them? ____________________

____

____

9. For each of the activities listed here, I would like to ask you, to what extent do you offer each service using the following categories? (SHOW CARD 1)

Card 1

1. Always 2. Often 3. Sometimes 4. Seldom 5. Never

Locating clients. ________ (#, CARD 1)

Individual counseling. ________ (#)

Family counseling. ________ (#)

Job placement. ________ (#)

9. (continued)

Medical treatment/health services. _______ (#)

Economic assistance. _______ (#)

Psychological services. _______ (#)

Educational. _______ (#)

Recreational. _______ (#)

Housing services. _______ (#)

Transportation services. _______ (#)

Referral of clients to other agencies. _______ (#)

Follow up clients. _______ (#)

Coordinating and consulting with other organizations. _______ (#)

Maintaining public relations in the community _______ (#)

Educating the public. _______ (#)

Mobilizing community support. _______ (#)

10. Every organization has several objectives to be accomplished, but organizations vary considerably in the relative priority they give to particular ones. Here is a list of five that are common to most organizations. During the past year .... (SHOW CARD 2)

10a. Which was emphasized the most? _______ (#, CARD 2)

10b. Which was emphasized second most? _______ (#)

10c. Which was emphasized the least? _______ (#)

Card 2

---

1. Growth in the number of clients served.
2. Improvement of present programs and services.
3. Increasing staff morale.
4. Minimizing cost per client.
5. Development of new client programs and services.

11. Please tell me how many full-time salaried employees there are in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION).

_______ (#)

12. How many part-time employees does (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) have?

_______ (#)

13. How many volunteers work here in this organization?

_______ (#)

14. To what persons or groups of persons are you responsible? Who do you report to directly as a higher authority?

NAME	POSITION

15. What was your budget for the year 1970 (or most recent fiscal year)?

____

16. What proportion of the income of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) for the current budget year came from each of the following sources? (SHOW CARD 3)

CARD 3

1. City _____%	4. State _____%
2. County _____%	5. Federal _____%
3. Region _____%	6. Other _____% (SPECIFY)

____

____

(Other category might include grants from public or private organizations, United Fund, purchase of services income, fees by clients, interest on endowments, investments, sale of goods, membership dues, etc.)

17. What are the names and titles or positions of the personnel in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) who report to you? (RECORD BELOW)

/None/

17a. (ASK FOR EACH PERSON) Does this person have subordinates?

NAME	POSITION	SUBORDINATES?	
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/

INTERVIEWER'S NOTE: GO TO SECTION III. OF SCHEDULE

(FOR STAFF MEMBER OF ORGANIZATION)

IIB.

18. What are the present objectives of this organization, as you see them?

____

____

____

____

____

19. For each of the activities listed here, I would like to ask you, to what extent do you offer each service using the following categories? (SHOW CARD 1)

CARD 1

1. Always 2. Often 3. Sometimes 4. Seldom 5. Never

Locating clients. _______ (#, CARD 1)

Individual counseling. _______ (#)

Family counseling. _______ (#)

Job placement. _______ (#)

Medical treatment/health services. _______ (#)

Economic assistance. _______ (#)

Psychological services. _______ (#)

Educational. _______ (#)

Recreational. _______ (#)

Housing services. _______ (#)

Transportation services. _______ (#)

Referral of clients to other agencies. _______ (#)

Follow up clients. _______ (#)

19. (continued)

Coordinating and consulting with other organizations. _______ (#)

Maintaining public relations in the community. _______ (#)

Educating the public. _______ (#)

Mobilizing community support. _______ (#)

20. What is the name and title--or position--of the person to whom you report?

20a. (IF MORE THAN ONE) To whom do you report most often? (CIRCLE)

NAME	POSITION

21. What are the names and titles or positions of the personnel in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) who report to you? (RECORD BELOW)

/None/

21a. (ASK FOR EACH PERSON) Does this person have subordinates?

NAME	POSITION	SUBORDINATES?	
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/
		/Yes/	/No/

INTERVIEWER'S NOTE: CONTINUE TO SECTION III.

III. (IF RESPONDENT IS A STAFF MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION)

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about how decisions are made in this organization.

22. Overall, would you describe your organization as being highly centralized, centralized, decentralized, or highly decentralized?

/Highly centralized/ /Centralized/

/Decentralized/ /Highly Decentralized/

23. Finally, to what extent do the opinions of department heads count in making decisions in this organization; would you say completely, to a great extent, somewhat, a little, or not at all?

/Completely/ /To a great extent/ /Somewhat/ /A little/ /None/

There are many decisions which have to be made in the day-to-day operations of any organization. In some organizations people like yourself participate a great deal in decision making, while in other organizations they participate very little; and, of course, participation may depend on the nature of the decision. I'm going to read a list of decisions which have to be made in organizations such as your own, and I'd like to know to what extent you usually participate in making such decisions. Use the past year as a basis for your answers. (SHOW CARD 1)

CARD 1

1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Seldom
5. Never

To what extent do you usually participate in making decisions on .... (TO Q 24)

(IF RESPONDENT IS THE DIRECTOR OF THE ORGANIZATION, ONLY)

Let's turn to a more detailed consideration of your activities and involvements in the operation of this organization.

No organization head is without some higher authority, either a superior or board or others. Considering such higher authority for your organization, how often do you (or someone below you) take action on decisions without waiting for confirmation even if the higher authority later has to ratify it? That is, in the last year, without waiting for confirmation from someone above you, how frequently did you or someone below you decide on .... (TO Q 24)

(SHOW CARD 1)

24. ...hiring new staff members? _______(#, CARD 1)

25. ...promotion of any of the professional staff? _______(#)

26. ...changes in the organization budget? _______(#)

27. ...allocation of work among available personnel? _______(#)

28. ...adoption of new policies? _____(#)

29. ...adoption of new programs? _______(#)

30. ...work assignments? _______(#)

31. ...determination of training programs or methods? _______(#)

32. ...creation of new units or sub-units? _______(#)

33. ...reviewing work performance of your subordinates? _______(#)

34. ...handling of public relations outside the organization? _______(#)

35. ...determination of methods of work to be used? _______(#)

(IF RESPONDENT IS A STAFF MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION)

36. How often did you and your colleagues, during the past year, make your own work decisions without checking with the next higher in the chain of command? (SHOW CARD 1)

CARD 1 _________(#, CARD 1)

1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Seldom
5. Never

37. ...receive direction from those higher up? _______(#)

38. ...have to refer even small matters to someone higher up for a final answer?

_______(#)

39. ...come and go as you please? _______(#)

40. ...find yourselves checked for violations of the organization's rules by the next higher one in the chain of command? _______(#)

41. ...refer to the rules manual and policy guidelines? _______(#)

42. ...do the same activities in the same way? _______(#)

43. ...define your own jobs? _______(#)

44. ...have relatively wide latitude in choosing what you will do? _______(#)

45. ...consult with someone within the organization when you need to without the supervisor's permission? _______(#)

46. ...work around rules when it is in the interest of the organization? _______(#)

47. ...work around rules when it is in the interest of the client? _______(#)

(IF THE RESPONDENT IS THE DIRECTOR OF THE ORGANIZATION, ONLY)

48. Can your subordinate supervisors/department heads decide about the hiring of new staff without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

49. Can they decide on the promotion of the professional staff without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

50. Can they make decisions about changes in the organization's budget without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

51. Can they decide about the allocation of work among available personnel without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

52. Can they decide about the adoption of new policies without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

53. Can they decide about the work assignments of persons under their supervision without explicit approval?
/Yes/ /No/

54. Can they decide about the adoption of new programs without explicit approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

55. Can they decide about the determination of training programs and methods in their departments/units without specific approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

56. Can they decide about the creation of new units or sub-units without explicit approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

57. Can they decide about the reviewing work performances of people in their unit without specific approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

58. Can they decide about the handling of public relations outside the organization without specific approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

59. Can they decide about the determination of methods of work to be used in their departments without specific approval?

☐ Yes ☐ No

INTERVIEWER'S NOTE: IF RESPONDENT IS A STAFF MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION, GO TO SECTION IVB. OF SCHEDULE.

IF RESPONDENT IS DIRECTOR OF THE ORGANIZATION, CONTINUE ON NEXT PAGE.

(FOR DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION ONLY)

IVA. The following questions have to do with procedures which are adhered to in this organization.

60. Is there an organization chart? /Yes/ /No/

61. Is there a handbook or manual for this organization?
/Yes/ /No/

61a. How many pages does it have? _______(#)

62. Is there a document stating broad policy guidelines for this organization?
/Yes/ /No/

62a. How many pages does it have? _______(#)

63. In this organization, is there a complete written job description for your department heads or those persons who report directly to you?
/Yes/ /No/

63a. Do these written job descriptions exist for all, most, some, or only a few of your department heads?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/

64. In this organization, is there a written record kept of job performance for your department heads, that is, those reporting directly to you?
/Yes/ /No/

64a. Is this written record kept for all, most, some, or only a few of your department heads?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/

65. How often are your department heads formally evaluated? (SHOW CARD 3)

CARD 3

1. Never _____
2. Monthly _____
3. Quarterly _____
4. Yearly _____
5. Other _____ (SPECIFY): ______________________

66. Is there a complete written job description for the remaining employees?

/Yes/ /No/

66a. Do these written job descriptions exist for all, most, some, or only a few of these employees?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/

67. Is there a written record kept of job performance for these employees, that is, for those persons who report to your department heads/supervisors?

/Yes/ /No/

67a. Is this written record of job performances kept for all, most, some, or only a few of these other employees in your organization?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/

68. How often are these other employees in your organization formally evaluated?

/Never/ /Monthly/ /Quarterly/ /Yearly/ /Other/ (SPECIFY)

____

69. If there are vacancies in key positions in this organization, would you say that all, most, some, a few, or none are filled with persons from outside the organization?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/ /None/

70. And what about lowest-level supervisors, would you say that all, most, some, a few, or none of the vacancies in such positions are filled with persons from outside the organization?

/All/ /Most/ /Some/ /A few/ /None/

INTERVIEWER'S NOTE: GO TO SECTION V. OF SCHEDULE

(FOR STAFF MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION)

IVB. The following questions have to do with your feelings about the rules and procedures followed in this organization.

I am going to read a series of statements that may or may not be true for your job in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION). For each item I read, please answer as it applies to you and your organization, using the answer categories on this next card. Use the last year as a basis for answering. (SHOW CARD 4)

CARD 4

---

1. Definitely true
2. More true than false
3. More false than true
4. Definitely false

71. First, I feel that I am my own boss in most matters. _______ (#, CARD 4)

72. A person can make his own decisions here without checking with anybody else. _______(#)

73. There can be little action taken here until a supervisor approves a decision. _______(#)

74. How things are done around here is left pretty much up to the person doing the work. _______(#)

75. A person who wants to make his own decisions would be quickly discouraged here. _______(#)

76. Even small matters have to be referred to someone higher up for a final answer. _______(#)

77. People here are allowed to do almost as they please. _______(#)

78. I have to ask my boss before I do almost anything. _______(#)

79. Any decision I make has to have my boss' approval. _______(#)

80. The employees are constantly being checked on for rule violations. _______(#)

81. Most people here make their own rules on the job. _______(#)

82. There is no rules manual. _______(#)

83. People here feel as though they are constantly being watched to see that they obey all rules. _______(#)

84. There is a complete written job description for my job. ____(#)

85. People here do the same job in the same way every day. ____(#)

86. Whatever situation arises, we have procedures to follow in dealing with it. ______(#)

87. Everyone has a specific job to do. ______(#)

88. One thing people like around here is the variety of work. ______(#)

89. Most jobs have something new happening every day. ______(#)

90. Going through the proper channels is constantly stressed. ______(#)

91. The organization keeps a written record of everyone's job performance. ______(#)

92. We are to follow strict operating procedures at all times. ______(#)

93. Whenever we have a problem, we are supposed to go to the same person for an answer. ______(#)

94. There is something different to do every day. ______(#)

95. It is impossible to learn enough about this job to handle all the problems that come up. ______(#)

Now we would like to know about your satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to your situation here. For each item that is read, please answer within the category that best describes your situation. (SHOW CARD 5)

CARD 5

1. Very satisfied	3. Dissatisfied
2. Satisfied	4. Very dissatisfied

96. How satisfied are you that you have been given enough authority by your supervisor to do your job well? ______(#)

97. How satisfied are you with your present job when you compare it to similar positions in other agencies/organizations? ____(#)

98. How satisfied are you with the progress you are making toward the goals which you set for yourself in your present situation? ______(#)

99. How satisfied are you with your present salary? ______(#)

100. How satisfied are you with the head of your organization? ______(#)

101. How satisfied are you with your supervisor? _______(#)

102. How satisfied are you with your fellow workers? _______(#)

103. On the whole, how satisfied are you that the head of your organization accepts you as a professional expert to the degree to which you are entitled by reason of your position, training, and experience? _______(#)

104. How satisfied are you with your present job when you consider the expectations you had when you took the job? _______(#)

105. How satisfied are you with your present job in light of your career expectations? _______(#)

(BOTH DIRECTOR AND STAFF MEMBERS)

V.

106. Now, I would like you to tell me the names of all the committees or meetings outside this organization of which you are a member, excluding professional association meetings. (RECORD BELOW)

106a. (FOR EACH COMMITTEE OR MEETING) What are the usual topics discussed at those meetings? (RECORD BELOW)

106b. (FOR EACH COMMITTEE OR MEETING) How many times per month do you meet with (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)? (RECORD BELOW)

COMMITTEE OR MEETING	TOPICS DISCUSSED	# PER MONTH

107. In a typical week, who are the persons in other organizations with whom you confer, either in face-to-face interactions or by telephone, excluding committees or meetings? (RECORD BELOW)

107a. (FOR EACH PERSON) What is the organization of which this person is a member? (RECORD BELOW)

107b. (FOR EACH PERSON) What topics are usually discussed?

107c. (FOR EACH PERSON) How many times in a typical week do you contact this person, again either face-to-face or telephone?

NAME	ORGANIZATION	TOPICS DISCUSSED	# PER WEEK

108. In a typical week, who are the persons in other organizations with whom you communicate indirectly about your work, that is, through written reports, memos, or the like? (RECORD BELOW)

108a. (FOR EACH PERSON) What is the organization of which this person is a member? (RECORD BELOW)

108b. (FOR EACH PERSON) What topics are usually covered? (RECORD BELOW)

108c. (FOR EACH PERSON) How many times in a typical week do you communicate with this person in this fashion? (RECORD BELOW)

NAME	ORGANIZATION	TOPICS DISCUSSED	# PER WEEK

109. Has your organization added any new programs or services in the past year?

/Yes/ /No/

109a. How many? _______(#)

110. Has your organization eliminated or terminated any programs or services in the past year?

/Yes/ /No/

110a. How many? _______(#)

111. Is your organization participating in any joint programs with other organizations in the community?

/Yes/ /No/

111a. How many? _______(#)

The remaining portion of this section of the interview deals with one particular group of organizations operating within the community and your relations with them.

It has been stated by many persons that when a family moves and the children must change schools, it is difficult for them to adjust to the new situation. For the children, this effect may be due to any one or combination of factors, such as loss of school or neighborhood friends, having to get to know a new teacher, lose of continuity of course materials, being unfamiliar with the people and places of a new neighborhood, and/or others.

112. Do you know of any special programs or services, either within or outside of your own organization, which directs attention to this particular problem and makes it easier for the school child in such a situation to make a smoother and less burdened transition.

/Yes/ /No/

112a. Would you describe them please? (OBTAIN NAME OF ORGANIZATION)

____

____

____

____

113. The remaining portion of this section of the interview includes a number of questions dealing with relationships between the school and relocation agency. Do you prefer to answer these questions or would there by someone else in this organization who is assigned to work with the school/relocation agency and would better be able to answer the questions?

/Yes/ /No/

113a. (IF YES) Would you give me the name and position of that person?

____________________ ____________________

(GO TO SECTION VI.)

/or/

(IF NO) (CONTINUE)

114. As you understand the relocation agency/public school, would you describe to me what you believe to be all of the functions which the relocation agency/public school is attempting to provide in this community? (RECORD BELOW)

115. With respect to the functions which the relocation agency/public school is attempting to provide in this community, do you believe there is a need for all of these functions to be performed either by the relocation agency/public school or by any other agency? (RECORD ANSWER BELOW)

116. To the best of your knowledge, are any of the same functions of the relocation agency/public school performed by any other agencies or groups, including yours, in this community?

/Yes/ /No/ /Don't know/

116a. Which of the functions are performed by what groups? (RECORD BELOW)

FUNCTION	NAME OF ORGANIZATION

117. Would you like to see the present situation changed so that there would be less duplication of functions between these groups?

/Yes/ /No/ /Don't know/

117a. What changes do you believe should be made?

118. In general, do you think you would favor or oppose the incorporation of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION'S) services, which you believe need to be provided, into some other agency in this community?

/Favor/ /Oppose/ /Don't know/

118a. Into which organization would you favor incorporation of the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION'S) services which you believe need to be provided? (RECORD BELOW)

118b. For what reasons? (RECORD BELOW)

ORGANIZATION	REASONS

119. Would you favor or oppose the incorporation of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION'S) services which you believe need to be provided into your organization?

/Favor/ /Oppose/ /Don't know/

120. For what reasons would you favor/oppose incorporation of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION'S) services into your agency? (RECORD BELOW)

121. Are you personally acquainted with any of the personnel who work in the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)?

/Yes/ /No/

122. Could you give me the names and positions of the personnel whom you know?

NAME	POSITION

123. Could you tell me about how often you have personally talked to personnel in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) using these categories? (SHOW CARD 1)

CARD 1

1. Always
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Seldom
5. Never

124. Have you ever been asked to serve on a committee or board on which a member of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) sat or was present?

/Yes/ /No/

124a. What was the name of the group? (RECORD BELOW)

124b. Did you decide to accept the request to serve on the board/committee?

124c. For what reasons? (RECORD BELOW)

NAME	ACCEPT?		REASONS
	/Yes/	/No/	
	/Yes/	/No/	
	/Yes/	/No/	

125. Has the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) referred cases/clients to you during the past year?

/Yes/ /No/

125c. About how many cases/clients were referred to you during the last year by the relocation agency/public school? ______(#)

126. Does your organization ever refer children of clients discovered to be mobile to other agencies or persons to get help specifically for their adjustment/educational problems?

/Yes/ /No/

126a. To what agencies, organizations, or persons are these children referred? (RECORD BELOW)

127. Has your organization ever referred client/children to (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)?

/Yes/ /No/

127a. About how many clients/children were referred to (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) by your organization during the past year? _______(#)

128. Have you ever been asked by a (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) staff member to have yourself or one of your fellow staff members participate in periodic meetings (other than advisory board meetings) with personnel from the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) and other agencies to discuss the needs of specific cases/clients/children of your respective groups?

/Yes/ /No/

128a. How frequently have you (OR ONE OF YOUR STAFF COLLEAGUES) participated in these meetings? (SHOW CARD 6)

CARD 6

1. Frequently
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Seldom
5. Never

(COMMENTS) ____________________________________

129. During the past year, have any of the personnel on this staff (including yourself) received any special training in the area of understanding and working with mobile school children (children who have changed schools)?

/Yes/ /No/

129a. What kinds of training were they and how many persons were involved? (RECORD BELOW)

TRAINING	# INVOLVED

130. Were any educational/relocation organizations (either state or local) in any way responsible for these persons in your organization receiving this training?

/Yes/ /No/

130a. In what ways was (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) responsible? (RECORD BELOW)

____

____

131. Has your organization cooperated with (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) in any way which involved exchanges in the use of facilities or other resources, e.g., use of physical facilities (such as meeting rooms or office space), duplicating equipment, supplies or personnel (secretaries, aides, caseworkers)?

/Yes/ /No/

131a. What types of exchanges have taken place? (RECORD BELOW)

____

____

132. I have asked you several questions about relationships between your agency and (NAME OF ORGANIZATION). Are there any other ways, which we have not discussed, in which your organization and (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) have worked with each other?

/Yes/ /No/

132a. Please explain. ______________________________

____

133. Are there any ways in which your organization was asked to work with (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) but for which you decided not to work with them during the past year?

/Yes/ /No/

134. During the past year, did you receive (if director; give) any instructions or recommendations to your staff about what the proper relationship between your agency/organization and (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) should be?

/Yes/ /No/

135. Does your organization have a written policy regarding cooperation with the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) in this community?

/Yes/ /No/

(COMMENTS FOR Q's 133, 134, 135) ______

(BOTH DIRECTOR AND STAFF MEMBERS)

VI.

136. People find intellectual and professional ideas and stimulation in a variety of places. Here is a list of four that are common to most people. (SHOW CARD 7)

CARD 7

1. Meetings of professional associations.
2. Journals and books.
3. Your associates in this organization.
4. Contacts with relocation/school officials or professionals outside this organization.

136a. During the past year, which was the most important source of intellectual and professional ideas and stimulation for you? _______(#, CARD 7)

136b. Which was second most important for you? _______(#)

136c. Which was least important for you? _______(#)

137. To what professional ~~organizations~~--both national and local--do you belong? (LIST BELOW)

/None/ (GO TO Q 138)

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	# MEETINGS ATTENDED	GIVE PAPER ?	ELECTIVE OFFICE ?

(ASK Q's 137a - 137c BELOW ABOUT EACH ORGANIZATION; RECORD ANSWERS IN APPROPRIATE COLUMNS ABOVE)

137a. How many of the last six meetings of this organization have you attended?

137b. Have you ever presented papers at a meeting of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)?

137c. Have you ever held an elective office?

138. What professional journals do you read regularly? (LIST BELOW)

______________________ ______________________

______________________ ______________________

______________________ ______________________

139. There may be other professional and scientific organizations of which you may not be a member, but in which you have an interest. During the past five years, have you attended meetings of any professional or scientific organizations of which you are not a member?

/Yes/ /No/

139a. Which ones?

____

____

Now, we would like to ask a few questions about your personal background. We are not only interested in the characteristics of organizations, but also the background of the leaders/staff members of such organizations.

140. To begin with...in what year were you born? ____________

141. How many grades of school or years of college did you finish?

__________ (SCHOOL), or __________ (COLLEGE)
(GO TO Q 143)

142. What colleges or universities did you attend? (RECORD BELOW)

142a. (ASK FOR EACH ONE) When did you attend? (RECORD BELOW)

142b. (ASK FOR EACH ONE) What degree, or degrees, did you receive from (NAME OF COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY)? (RECORD BELOW)

142c. (ASK FOR EACH ONE) What year was it? (RECORD BELOW)

COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY	ATTENDANCE	DEGREE	YEAR
	19__ to 19__		
	19__ to 19__		
	19__ to 19__		

143. Have you had any other professional training? /Yes/ /No/

143a. Could you describe it please? ______________________

____

____

144. How many months or years have you been working in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)?

__________(MONTHS), or __________(YEARS)

145. How many months or years have you been working in your present position?

__________(MONTHS), or __________(YEARS)

146. (OPTIONAL) During the past year, what salary did you receive from this organization? You do not have to give me the exact figure; just give me the letter on this card which comes the closest. (SHOW CARD 8)

CARD 8

A.	Under $4,000	D.	$9,000 - $11,999
B.	$4,000 - $5,999	E.	$12,000 - $14,999
C.	$6,000 - $8,999	F.	$15,000 or over

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

A1. Time interview ended: ______________________

A2. R's race is: /White/ /Black/ Other: ______________________

A3. R's sex is: /Male/ /Female/

A4. R's cooperation was: /Very good/ /Good/ /Fair/ /Poor/

A5. Other persons present at interview: /None/

(IF AT R's PLACE OF WORK) /Director/ /Supervisor/ /Staff Member/ /Client/

(IF AT R's HOME) /Children under 6/ /Older children/ /Spouse/ /Other relatives/ /Other adults/

(CHECK MORE THAN ONE BOX IF NECESSARY)

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

APPENDIX C

CALCULATION OF THE INTERACTION INDEX

Close attention was given to Klonglan, et al., "Agency Interaction Patterns," pp. 138-141, in constructing a numerical index representing interorganizational interaction. Despite this, the lack of guidelines in assigning weights to indicators of interaction from other research made such assignment in this study highly experimental. The seven components of the interaction score are discussed below. The component scores were developed from information gathered through the application of the interview questionnaire; that is, the perceptions of behavior as reported by agency respondents.

Acquaintance

This component score was developed from answers to Questions #121 and 122.

121. Are you personally acquainted with any of the personnel who work in the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION)?

122. Could you give me the names and positions of the personnel whom you know?

Correctly identified no one	0
Correctly identified one person	1
Correctly identified two persons	2
Correctly identified three persons	3
Etc.	

Frequency of Acquaintance

This component score was developed from answers to Question 123.

123. Could you tell me about how often you have personally talked to personnel in (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) using these categories?

Never	0
Seldom	1
Sometimes	3
Often	5
Always	7

Advisory Board

This component score was developed from answers to Question 124.

124. Have you ever been asked to serve on a committee or board on which a member of (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) sat or was present?

Never was asked	0
Was asked and accepted	1
Was asked, accepted, and attended one-three meetings	4
Attended more than three meetings	8

Client referral from relocation agency to school

This component score was developed from answers to Questions 125 and 127.

125. Has the relocation agency referred cases/clients to you during the past year?

127. Has your organization ever referred clients/children to the school?

Never	0
1 - 10 times	3
11 - 25 times	8
26 - 100 times	13
Over 100 times	16

Client referral from school to relocation agency

This component score was scored exactly as the client referral from the relocation agency to the school. The questions were reworded accordingly.

Staffing Sessions

This component score was developed from answers to Question 128.

128. Have you ever been asked by a (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) staff member to have yourself or one of your fellow staff members participate in periodic meetings (other than advisory board meetings) with personnel from the (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) and other agencies to discuss the needs of specific cases/clients/children of your respective groups?

Never participated	0
Seldom participated (once or twice)	5
Regularly participated (more than twice)	10

Special Interagency Staff Training

This component score was developed from answers to Question 129 and 130.

129. During the past year, have any of the personnel on this staff (including yourself) received any special training in the area of understanding and working with mobile school children (children who have changed schools)?

130. Were any educational/relocation organizations (either state or local) in any way responsible for these persons in your organization receiving this training?

None	0
Training provided	5
For each person trained	+3 for each person

Other Interactions

This component score was developed from answers to Questions 131 and 132.

131. Has your organization cooperated with (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) in any way which involved exchanges in the use of facilities or other resources?

132. Are there any other ways in which your organization and (NAME OF ORGANIZATION) have worked with each other?

None	0
Mentioned one area	4
Each additional area mentioned	+3 for each additional area mentioned

The component scores for each organization studied were added together to obtain the interaction index for each organization. The maximum possible score for the interaction index was approximately 78. The actual range of scores for relocation agencies was from zero to 22. The mean was 9.7. All of the interaction scores for the schools were zero.

APPENDIX D

STATISTICAL CORRELATION ANALYSIS

DSTAT2, a program available for use at the University of Wisconsin Computing Center on the 1108 Computing System, was used to compute a matrix of correlation coefficients for the given set of data generated for the organizational analysis of this study (see pages correlation coefficients are the Pearson product-moment type and the data set consisted of seven observations (relocation agencies) of twenty-four variables. Eleven "environmental" variables were included to check the reliability of comparing these organizations cross sectionally among four cities.

The purpose of utilizing this particular statistical technique was to know the degree or strength of relationship between variables. The results of the computation *cannot* be used for predictive purposes.

Each correlation coefficient (r) measures the amount of spread about the linear least-squares equation. The range of *r* is from -1.0 to 1.0. Therefore, if all observations of two variables conform closely to a straight line, *r* will be close to either 1.0 or -1.0 depending on whether the relationship is positive or negative. The better the fit, the larger the magnitude of *r*.

For more detailed discussion of correlation analysis see Hoel, Paul G., *Introduction to Mathematical Statistics*, 2nd ed. (New York: 1954), pp. 117-125.

TABLE 22

MATRIX OF CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

Variable No. No.	Name	1 POPSIZ60	2 POPSIZ70	3 PCHANGE	4 CITYAGE	5 PDENSE70	6 AVRATE	7 GOVEPCAP	8 INTGOVTP	9 INTGOVTC	10 PROPTAXP
1.	POPSIZ60	1.000									
2.	POPSIZ70	.997	1.000								
3.	PCHANGE	.266	.185	1.000							
4.	CITYAGE	.463	.492	-.261	1.000						
5.	PDENSE70	.762	.708	.792	.279	1.000					
6.	AVRATE	.987	.989	.201	.364	.681	1.000				
7.	GOVEPCAP	.601	.565	.537	.674	.846	.464	1.000			
8.	INTGOVTP	.058	.139	-.932	.557	-.519	.095	-.228	1.000		
9.	INTGOVTC	.143	.224	-.912	.534	-.473	.190	-.233	.993	1.000	
10.	PROPTAXP	-.635	-.697	.575	-.564	-.003	-.683	-.048	-.787	-.846	1.000
11.	PROPTAXC	-.504	-.431	-.958	.206	-.880	-.461	-.550	.833	.782	-.334
12.	FULLTIME	.856	.846	.323	-.028	.609	.910	.214	-.132	-.021	-.489

TABLE 22--Continued

Variable No. No. Name	1 POPSIZ60	2 POPSIZ70	3 PCHANGE	4 CITYAGE	5 PDENSE70	6 AVRATE	7 GOVEPCAP	8 INTGOVTP	9 INTGOVTC	10 PROPTAXP
13. INTGOVRL	.020	.003	.198	.032	.165	-.013	.180	-.173	-.182	.148
14. NOOCCU	.626	.605	.396	-.315	.485	.698	.021	-.310	-.206	-.244
15. PROTRAIN	-.003	.047	-.590	.375	-.340	.011	-.124	.629	.617	-.461
16. PROACTIV	.277	.320	-.418	-.192	-.242	.404	-.494	.402	.479	-.600
17. PROSTIM	-.600	-.558	-.624	-.091	-.753	-.560	-.553	.437	.388	.009
18. PARTDIR	-.620	-.625	-.072	-.711	-.518	-.546	-.675	-.216	-.230	.446
19. EXAUDIR	.061	.044	.228	-.436	.079	.117	-.209	-.296	-.253	.109
20. PARTSTAF	-.066	-.050	-.180	-.531	-.306	.053	-.605	.037	.089	-.122
21. INCOME	.219	.264	-.450	-.311	-.323	.367	-.622	.394	.476	-.582
22. INOVATPO	.269	.207	.786	-.283	.627	.239	.352	-.737	-.705	.394
23. NEJTPROG	-.501	-.527	.214	-.986	-.327	-.402	-.698	-.518	-.500	.560
24. INTERACT	.106	.123	-.150	-.383	-.169	.211	-.453	.077	.137	-.240

TABLE 22--Continued

Variable No. No.	Name	11 PROPTAXC	12 FULLTIME	13 INTGOVRL	14 NOOCCU	15 PROTRAIN	16 PROACTIV	17 PROSTIM	18 PARTDIR	19 EXAUDIR	20 PARTSTAF
11.	PROPTAXC	1.000									
12.	FULLTIME	-.576	1.000								
13.	INTGOVRL	-.165	.041	1.000							
14.	NOOCCU	-.599	.913	-.047	1.000						
15.	PROTRAIN	.545	-.249	-.445	-.393	1.000					
16.	PROACTIV	.214	.464	-.568	.485	.490	1.000				
17.	PROSTIM	.713	-.625	.053	-.709	.564	.065	1.000			
18.	PARTDIR	.169	-.277	-.468	.106	-.048	.313	.050	1.000		
19.	EXAUDIR	-.278	.393	-.146	.710	-.491	.271	-.657	.608	1.000	
20.	PARTSTAF	.088	.286	-.597	.558	.054	.767	-.198	.781	.743	1.000
21.	INCOME	.243	.494	-.385	.517	.342	.962	.128	.296	.289	.743
22.	INOVATPO	-.786	.406	.697	.381	-.700	-.467	-.372	-.335	.074	-.385

TABLE 22--Continued

Variable No. No. Name	11 PROPTAXC	12 FULLTIME	13 INTGOVRL	14 NOOCCU	15 PROTRAIN	16 PROACTIV	17 PROSTIM	18 PARTDIR	19 EXAUDIR	20 PARTSTAF
23. NEJTPROG	-.151	-.014	-.073	.311	-.320	.229	.078	.799	.515	.607
24. INTERACT	.025	.440	-.463	.624	-.300	.574	-.393	.503	.725	.817

TABLE --Continued

Variable No. No. Name	21 INCOME	22 INOVATPO	23 NEJTPROG	24 INTERACT
21. INCOME	1.000			
22. INOVATPO	-.343	1.000		
23. NEJTPROG	.327	.196	1.000	
24. INTERACT	.622	-.233	.396	1.000

DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED INDICES USED IN CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Environmental/Control Variables

Identifier	Variable Description
1. POPSIZ60	Population of central city, 1960; U. S. Census of Population.
2. POPSIZ70	Population of central city, 1970; U. S. Census of Population.
3. PCHANGE	Change in Population, 1960-1970; rate of population change between 1960 and 1970.
4. CITYAGE	Age of central city; number of years between the first Census year city attained a population of 50,000 or more and 1970.
5. PDENSE70	Density of Population, 1970; population per square mile of residential land; land information provided by respective city planning agencies.
6. AVRATE	Housing units vacant and available, 1969; updated estimates of total vacant units available for occupancy per total number of housing units in central city; data provided by respective city housing agencies.
7. GOVEPCAP	Governmental employees, per capita; taken from 1967 Census of Governments, *Employment of Major Local Governments*, based on 1967 full-time equivalent employees and 1960 population.
8. INTGOVTP	Intergovernmental Revenue; percentage of revenue from intergovernmental sources; 1967 Census of Governments, *Finances of Municipalities and Township Governments*.
9. INTGOVTC	Per capita Intergovernmental Revenue; revenue from intergovernmental sources per each member of 1970 population.
10. PROPTAXP	Revenue from Property Tax; percentage revenue from property tax, 1967 Census of Governments.
11. PROPTAXC	Per capita revenue from Property Tax; revenue from property tax per each member of 1970 population.

Organizational Variables (Relocation)

Identifier	Variable Description
12. FULLTIME	Relocation Agency Size; number of fulltime employees in relocation agency; see Question #11 on "Inter-organizational Questionnaire."
13. INTGOVRL	Relocation Agency access to Intergovernmental Resources; percentage of income to relocation agency from sources other than the city government; see Question #16.
14. NOOCCU	Number of Occupational Specialties; index constructed from answers to Question #17; the question was supplemented by asking the respondents to provide information regarding the diversity of employee training and experience.
15. PROTRAIN	Degree of Professional Training; number of years of relevant professional training of respondents from each agency; see Questions #143, 144, and 145.
16. PROACTIV	Degree of Professional Activity; index based on respondents' participation in local and national professional organizations, e.g., number of organizations, number of meetings attended, papers presented, offices held, etc.; see Question #137.
17. PROSTIM	Degree of Professional Stimulation; based on answers to Questions #136 and 138. Index scored as follows: meetings of professional associations, 3 pts.; journals and books, 3 pts.; contacts with relocation officials outside own organization, 2 pts.; and own associates within the agency, 1 pt.
18. PARTDIR	Participation of Director in Decision-making; based on answers to Questions #24, 25, 28, and 29.
19. EXAUDIR	Executive Autonomy; based on answers to Questions #26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35.
20. PARTSTAF	Participation of Staff Members in Decision-making; index based on answers to Questions #48-59 and #73, 75, 76, 78, and 79.

Identifier	Variable Description
21. INCOME	Financial Reward of Organization; index based on an average of all respondents' answers to Question #153 of each agency.
22. INOVATPO	Organizational Innovative Potential; see Question #10; index scored as follows: development of new client programs, 5 pts.; improvement of present programs, 4 pts., increasing staff morale, 3 pts.; growth in number of clients, 2 pts.; minimizing cost per client, 1 pt.
23. NEJTPROG	Number of New and Joint Programs; see Questions #109, 110, and 111.
24. INTERACT	Interaction with the Public School; Interaction Index.

APPENDIX E

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: 262-3122 (Area Code 608)

Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory

Winter, 1970

Dear Sir or Madam:

The Survey Research Laboratory at The University of Wisconsin is doing a study of families who have recently moved within the city limits of Milwaukee. The purpose of the survey is to find out how families feel about moving and especially how children feel about changing schools.

Since you have changed your place of residence recently and your children have changed schools, your family has been selected for an interview. These interviews are completely confidential and no names will be used in any report.

An interviewer from the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory will be calling on you within the next few weeks. Let me emphasize that this interviewer is an employee of The University of Wisconsin and is not a salesman for any product or service.

On the basis of past experience, I think that I can safely say that the person we talk with will enjoy the interview. If you have any questions regarding this research, please feel free to call me at The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 600 West Kilbourn Avenue, Milwaukee. My telephone number is 228-4242.

Sincerely,

Norah Donahoe

(Mrs.) Norah Donahoe
Associate Field Director

ND/ve
P-435

__________Office Number
Project 435
March-April, 1970

University Extension
The University of Wisconsin
Survey Research Laboratory

COVER SHEET

Milwaukee Pupil Mobility Study

Interviewer: ________________________ Int. No.: ________

YOUR RESPONDENT IS THE MOTHER OR FEMALE GUARDIAN OF THE CHILD NAMED ABOVE, OR THE MOTHER OF THE FIFTH AND/OR SIXTH GRADER(S) IN THE HOUSEHOLD.

CALL BOX

Call No.	Date	Hour	Result of Each Call
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6 or more			

NON-INTERVIEW INFORMATION

Reason for non-interview: ________________________

____

____

(FILL OUT INFORMATION ON BACK)

____________Office Number
Project 435
Winter, 1970

University Extension
The University of Wisconsin
Survey Research Laboratory

MILWAUKEE PUPIL MOBILITY SURVEY

We have selected you to help us answer some questions about how children feel about moving into a new neighborhood, home, and school. To begin with, however, we would like to get some information about the people who live here with you in this house (apartment).

1. Would you tell me the first name of each of your children who are in school? Let's start with the name of the oldest. (RECORD IN COLUMN 1, BELOW)
2. (IF NOT CLEAR) Is (NAME) your son or daughter? (RECORD IN COLUMN 2)
3. What is the age of (NAME)? (RECORD IN COLUMN 3)
4. What grade is (NAME) in? (RECORD IN COLUMN 4)
5. What school does (NAME) attend? (RECORD IN COLUMN 5)
6. What school did (NAME) attend before you moved? (RECORD IN COLUMN 6)

ASK QUESTIONS 1 THROUGH 6 FOR ALL SCHOOL CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME

1 Name	2 Relationship	3 Age	4 Grade	5 Present School	6 Previous School

7. Who lives in this house (apartment) with you? (SPECIFY NO. IN EACH CATEGORY)

___Husband
___Children
___Grandchildren

___Wife
___Parents
___Relatives

___Other (SPECIFY)
____

Interviewer's Name: ______________________ Int. No.: ________

Date: ______________________ Time Started: ________

Project 435

8. Now, we have some questions about your home here. Do you own or rent?

/Own/ /Rent/ /Other/ (SPECIFY) ______________

9. When did you move to this specific address?

(MONTH) ________________, 19____

10. How many times have you moved in the past six months? ______(#)

(COMMENTS)

11. How many times have you moved in the past five years? ______(#)

12. When the decision was made by you, or someone else, that you were going to move from your last address, would you say at that time, you were "forced" to move or that you "wanted" to move?

/Forced/ /Wanted/

13. Do you think that you would have moved within a year anyway?

/Yes/ /No/ /Don't know/

14. Would you have liked to have had more time to find a new place?

/Yes/ /Depends/ /No/ /Don't know/
(GO TO Q 15)

14a. For what reason(s)? ______________________________

____

____

15. Where did you live just before you moved here?

______________________________, ________________
NO. STREET ADDRESS CITY

16. How many people lived there with you? ______(#)

Project 435

17. What was the main reason that you left your last address? (SHOW CARD 1)

____ CARD #1

____ A. House was damaged or destroyed by fire, storm, etc.

____ B. Moved to be closer to job.

____ C. Could not pay rent, or too expensive.

____ D. Needed more space.

____ E. Displaced because of urban renewal, highways, or code enforcement.

(SPECIFY)____________________

____ F. Wanted to move to a better house or better location.

____ G. Divorce, separation, or death in family.

(SPECIFY)____________________

____ H. Was evicted.

____ I. Other (SPECIFY): ____________________

18. Were you offered any kind of moving or relocation assistance or services?

/Yes/ /No/ (GO TO Q 19)

18a. What kind of aid was provided?

18b. By whom? ____________________

____

18c. Did you take advantage of these services (assistance)?

/Yes/ /No/

18d. In what way? 18e. Why not?

Project 435

19. Did any organization or social agency contact you to welcome you upon your arrival in this neighborhood?

/Yes/ /No/

(IF YES, GIVE NAME)

20. Now that you have moved, do you like this house (apartment) better than the one you lived in before?

/Yes/ /No/

21. ....this neighborhood better than the other one?

/Yes/ /No/

22. All things considered, would you rather still be living at your other place instead of this one?

/Yes/ /No/ /Depends/

22a. Please explain why.

23. Comparing what you spend on housing now with what you spent on housing before the move, would you say you are spending much more on housing now, a little more, the same, a little less, or a lot less? (OVERALL COSTS)

/Much more/ /Little more/ /Same/ /Little less/ /Lot less/ /DK/

24. How many rooms did you have in your former house or apartment not counting bathrooms? _________(#)

25. How many rooms do you have in this house (apartment) not counting bathrooms? _______(#)

26. Thinking of your children who attend school, would you say that they have more, the same, or less study space in this house as compared to the previous one?

/More/ /Same/ /Less/

27. All in all, would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with your neighborhood?

/Very satisfied/ /Satisfied/ /Dissatisfied/ /Very dissatisfied/

Project 435

28. There are good things and bad things about every neighborhood. Thinking about the neighborhood you lived in previous to this one, what did you like most about it? (TRY TO DETERMINE IF THERE IS MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO NEIGHBORHOODS)

29. What did you like least about it?

30. Now, thinking about this neighborhood, what do you like best about it?

31. What do you like least about it?

32. Some people say that when a family moves and the children must change schools it is difficult for them to adjust and do as well as before in school. In general, do you agree or disagree?

/Agree/ /Disagree/ /Depends/ /Don't know/ (GO TO Q 33)

32a. Why?

32b. Please explain.

33. Now I am going to ask you questions which have more to do with how children feel. Realizing that all children aren't alike, we wish you would specifically think in terms of (NAME) when answering these questions. First, has he (she) always attended school in Milwaukee?

/Yes/ /No/

34. How many different schools has (NAME) attended? ________(#)

34a. (IF MORE THAN ONE) Would you please give me the name and location of each school (NAME) has attended?

Project 435

35. What things did (NAME) especially like about the previous neighborhood?

36. Was there anything about the previous neighborhood that he (she) did not like?

37. What does (NAME) especially like about this neighborhood?

38. Is there anything about this neighborhood he (she) doesn't like?

39. Do you think that he (she) feels comfortable in the neighborhood you are now in?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

40. ....at school?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

41. Some persons say that if a child is removed from one setting to another, he has a difficult time adapting to the new situation and is easily frustrated. Have you, at any time, sensed this in (NAME) since moving?

☐ Yes ☐ No (GO TO Q 42)

41a. Please explain.

42. Have there been any personality and/or behavior changes in (NAME) since you moved?

☐ Yes ☐ No (TO Q 43)

42a. What types of changes have you noticed? (EXAMPLES?)

42b. Did you think that moving had something to do with the changes?

/Yes/ /No/

42c. Why?

42d. Why not?

43. What types of problems, if any, has (NAME) experienced in school since you have moved?

44. Would you say he (she) spends more, the same, or less time with his (her) school work than before the move? (RECORD COMMENTS)

/More/ /Same/ /Less/

45. What things does (NAME) like about the school he now attends? (ANYTHING ABOUT THE SCHOOL INCLUDING FRIENDS, SUBJECTS, TEACHERS, ETC.)

46. What has he (she) disliked about the school he (she) now attends?

47. All in all, would you say that (NAME) would like to be in the present school rather than the previous one?

/Yes/ /No/ /Don't know/

48. Has anyone in this household had contact with (NAME'S) new teacher?

/Yes/ /No/ (GO TO Q 49)

48a. Who? (RECORD IN COLUMN 1 ON FOLLOWING PAGE)

48b. For what reasons or under what circumstances? (RECORD IN COLUMN 2)

1	2
Name or person	Circumstances

FURTHER COMMENTS:

49. Did anyone at the new school do anything special in order to help (NAME) adjust?

/Yes/ /No/ (TO Q 50)

49a. Who? (RECORD BELOW)

49b. What did they do? (RECORD BELOW)

50. Did anyone at the old (previous) school do anything or suggest anything to prepare (NAME) for the move into the new school?

/Yes/ /No/ (GO TO Q 51)

50a. Who? (RECORD BELOW)

50b. What was done? (RECORD BELOW)

50c. Do you think what they did was useful?

/Yes/ /No/

50d. Why do you feel this way?

51. Now, let's talk about the move in general. Did you do anything special to help (NAME) adjust to either this school, this home, or this neighborhood?

/Yes/ /No/ (GO TO Q 52)

51a. What was that?

52. Since (NAME) has been in his present school, have his (her) report cards been better, the same, or worse than before the move?

/Better/ /Same/ /Worse/

(COMMENTS)

53. Did anyone else, such as relatives, brothers or sisters, friends, agencies, or organizations do anything to make the move easier for (NAME)?

/Yes/ /No/ (GO TO Q 54) /Don't know/

53a. Who? (RECORD BELOW)

53b. What did they do? (RECORD BELOW)

54. Other than yourself or members of the immediate family, do you think that there is a need for someone in the school system or an agency to provide special help or attention to school children who have moved and are trying to adjust to a new situation?

/Yes/ /No/

54a. Is there any particular reason why you feel this way?

55. Who is the head of this household? ____________________

56. What kind of work does he (or you) do? ____________________

57. (OPTIONAL) What would you say is the major source of income for this household? (SHOW CARD 2)

CARD 2

____A. Salary

____B. Wages

____C. Profits or fees

____D. Unemployment compensation

____E. Pension benefits, social security, insurance benefits, sick or disability benefits

____F. Alimony or child support payments

____G. Other

____H. Did not answer

Project 435

58. (OPTIONAL) Just roughly, what was your total family income from all sources in 1969? (SHOW CARD 3)

CARD 3

____A. Under $3,000

____B. $3,000 - $4,999

____C. $5,000 - $6,999

____D. $7,000 - $9,999

____E. $10,000 or over

59. The interview is almost over; however, I am wondering whether you might have any additional comments you would like to make regarding what we have talked about? (moving, schools, children, being forced to move, etc.) (RECORD COMMENTS)

INTERVIEWER'S NOTE: REMEMBER TO GET PARENTAL PERMISSION SLIP SIGNED.

Project 435

INTERVIEWER'S SUPPLEMENT

A1. Time Interview ended: ____________________

A2. (IF R REFUSED TO GIVE TOTAL FAMILY INCOME)

Estimated Total Family Income for 1969 ____________________

A3. R's sex: /Male/ /Female/

A4. R's race: /White/ /Black/ /Other/: ____________________

A5. R's cooperation: /Very good/ /Good/ /Fair/ /Poor/

A6. Other persons present at the interview were:

/None/ /Children under 6/ /Older children/ /Child in question/

/Other relatives/ /Other adults/

A7. House type: /Excellent/ /Very good/ /Good/ /Average/

/Fair/ /Poor/ /Very poor/

A8. Dwelling area (neighborhood): /Very high/ /High/ /Above average/

/Average/ /Below average/ /Low/ /Very low/

THUMBNAIL SKETCH

MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Division of Planning and Long-Range Development
Department of Educational Research and Program Assessment

PERMISSION TO USE SCHOOL INFORMATION

I understand the request to have my child ________________________, age _____, in the _______ grade of ______________________________ School included in a study of pupil mobility which is being conducted by Mr. Philip Mummert of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning of the University of Wisconsin. I give permission to have achievement and attendance information from the school record of my child used in the study. I further understand that no names of pupils, parents or schools will be used in the report on this study.

____
(signed) Parent or Guardian

Date: ________________________

GDR:eg
2/70

APPENDIX F

CALCULATION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS INDEX

See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 121-159.

There were three separate steps used in obtaining the SES index for each family.

(1) The primary ratings on the status characteristics which comprise the index--occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area--were attained. Necessary information was obtained from items 56, 57, A7, and A8 on the "Milwaukee Pupil Mobility Survey" questionnaire (See Appendix B).

For example:

56. What kind of work does he (or you do? A welder in a machine shop.

57. What would you say is the major source of income for this household? Answer: wages.

A7. House type rating (interviewer's judgment): Fair

A8. Dwelling area rating (neighborhood): Below average

Each of the four socio-economic characteristics was rated on a seven-point scale which ranges from a rating of "1", very high status value, to "7", very low status value. See below:

Occupation	House Type
1. Professionals and proprietors of large businesses	1. Excellent
2. Semi-professionals and smaller officials of large businesses	2. Very good
3. Clerks and kindred workers	3. Good
4. Skilled workers	4. Average
5. Proprietors of small businesses	5. Fair
6. Semi-skilled workers	6. Poor
7. Unskilled workers	7. Very poor

Calculation of the Socio-Economic Status Index

Source of Income	Dwelling Area
1. Inherited wealth	1. Very high
2. Earned wealth	2. High
3. Profits and fees	3. Above average
4. Salary	4. Average
5. Wages	5. Below average
6. Private relief	6. Low
7. Public relief	7. Very low

See interpretations, qualifications, and definitions in Warner, et al. and on page 326 of Appendix F.

(2) A weighted total of these ratings was secured. Each rating on separate status characteristics were combined into a single numerical index by multiplying the data by the respective assigned weights.

Occupation	4
Source of Income	3
House Type	3
Dwelling Area	2

The four products were added to obtain the weighted total:

For example:

A welder	semi-skilled	6 x 4	24
Wages	wages	5 x 3	15
Fair house	fair	5 x 3	15
Below average	below average	5 x 2	10
	Weighted total		64

(3) The weighted total was converted into a form indicating social-class position: in accordance with a social-class equivalents table in Warner, et al., p. 127.

12-17	Upper Class
18-22	Upper Class probably, with some possibility of Upper-Middle Class
23-24	Indeterminate: either Upper or Upper-Middle Class
25-33	Upper-Middle Class
34-37	Indeterminate: either Upper-Middle or Lower-Middle Class
38-50	Lower-Middle Class
51-53	Indeterminate: either Lower-Middle or Upper-Lower Class
54-62	Upper-Lower Class

Calculation of the Socio-Economic Status Index

63-66	Indeterminate: either Upper-Lower or Lower-Lower Class
67-69	Lower-Lower Class, probably, with some possibility of Upper-Lower Class
70-84	Lower-Lower Class

For example:

A family with a weighted score of 64 would be classified as either Upper-Lower or Lower-Lower Class.

INTERVIEWER'S JUDGEMENT GUIDE

For Student Mobility Study

ITEM 40: SOURCE OF INCOME	ITEM A7: HOUSING TYPE	ITEM A8: NEIGHBORHOOD AREA
Inherited wealth: money made by previous generation; derived from savings or investments or business enterprises.	Excellent: very large single-family, in good repair; surrounded by large lawns, well landscaped, well cared for; possibly a distinctive architectural style.	Very high: high status reputation; "the best area in town"; wide and clean streets with many trees.
Earned wealth: savings or investments earned by present generation; sufficient amount of money amassed so no one in family needs to work.	Very good: does not quite measure up to first category; primary difference is one of size; still larger than utility demands for average family.	High: superior neighborhood; well above average but a little bit below the top; fewer mansions and pretentious houses.
Profits and fees: money paid to professional men for services or advice; money made by owners of businesses; royalties to writers or musicians, etc.	Good: many times slightly larger than utility demands; more conventional, less ostentatious than higher categories.	Above average: area of nice but not pretentious houses; clean streets; houses well cared for.
Salary: regular income paid monthly or yearly; includes commission type of salary paid to salesmen.	Average: one and a half to two story wood-frame and brick single-family dwelling; conventional with lawns well cared for but not landscaped; regular apartments, in apartment building.	Average: workingmen's homes; small, unpretentious but neat in appearance.

ITEM 40: SOURCE OF INCOME	ITEM A7: HOUSING TYPE	ITEM A8: NEIGHBORHOOD AREA
Wage: distinguished from salary since amount is determined by hourly rate; paid on a daily or weekly basis.	Fair: condition not quite as good as average; includes smaller houses in excellent condition; also, store top apartments.	Below average: undesirable area; close to factories, business section of town, or close to railroads; more run down houses because "some people in the area don't take care of things."
Private relief: paid by relatives or friends for sake of friendship or family ties; money given by churches, associations, etc. when agency does not reveal names of recipients.	Poor: size less important than condition in determining evaluation; badly run down but has not deteriorated sufficiently that it cannot be repaired; lack of care.	Low: run down, semi-slums; houses set close together; streets and yards have debris; streets may not be in good condition or paved.
Public relief: money received from a government agency or semi-public charity.	Very poor: cannot be repaired; unsafe and unhealthy to live in; includes shacks and overcrowded dwellings; littered with junk and debris.	Very low: area of poorest reputation; lowest social stigma attached; houses a little better than shacks.

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